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Translation

SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES
OF MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION D. F. USTINOV



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SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES OF MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION D. F. USTINOV

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FROM THE PUBLISHERS

The book by the member of the Politburo of the CC CPSU and USSR Minister of Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov contains selected speeches and articles written during the period of his work in leading party, government, and military posts from 1942 through February 1979. At the center of the author's attention are the important issues of the domestic and foreign policies of the Communist Party and Soviet State and the tasks of the defense of the socialist fatherland, of a constant strengthening of the defense capacity of the USSR and of the combat strength of the Soviet Armed Forces, and of a steady strengthening of the commonwealth of socialist states and of the combat alliance of their armies.

In disclosing the ever increasing role of party leadership in the accomplishment of the tasks of communist construction, the author assigns a large amount of space to the many-sided ideological and organizational activities of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Politburo of the CC and emphasizes the outstanding importance of the contribution by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the development of the theory of scientific communism, the development and realization of the party's domestic and foreign policies, and the strengthening of the country's defense capacity.

The gigantic efforts of the Soviet people to implement the decisions of the party and the government on accomplishing the most important political, socio-economic and ideological and educational tasks are dealt with extensively by the author. The titanic work of the party on behalf of the people is demonstrated with numerous examples and facts. A large amount of attention is devoted to an analysis of the work by party, government, and economic cadres to master a Leninist style of leadership. The CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy has received a profound treatment.

A substantial part of the material which has gone into the book is devoted to military problems. D. F. Ustinov's speeches and articles describe the main features and basic directions of the party's military policy, and examine the work of the political agencies and party and komsomol organizations

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of the army and navy, the special features of military construction under developed socialism, and the characteristic features of the USSR Armed Forces as the army of a people's state.

The book begins with the reports "Leninism Lights Up the Path to Communism" and "60 Years on Guard Over the Gains of Great October." The subsequent materials are arranged in chronological order, and some of them are being printed for the first time. Some of the speeches and articles are being published in abbreviated form.

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LENINISM LIGHTS UP THE PATH TO COMMUNISM

D.F. Ustinov IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, 1979

[Report by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a festive meeting in Moscow devoted to the 103rd anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. 20 April 1973, pp 5-21]

[Text] Comrades! With each passing year and with each passing decade the heroic life of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin--a thinker of genius and inflexible revolutionary, the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the creator of the first workers' and peasants' state, and the leader of the world proletariat-manifests itself to us with greater and greater magnificence. (Applause.)

There has been no person in history and there is no person whose name is so precious to people of labor as the name of Lenin. There has been no other teaching in history and there is no other teaching which has exercised such a tremendous influence on the entire course of world development as the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Under the banner of Leninism the Soviet people has constructed developed socialism and is confidently moving on the path to communism. Guiding themselves by Lenin's teachings, the workers of the fraternal socialist states are building a new life. The proletariat of all countries and the fighters for social and national liberation draw their revolutionary energy and inspiration from Leninism. Lenin's teachings and Lenin's cause are the common international property of mankind. And today the 103rd anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth is being celebrated, along with our party and people, by millions of people in the entire world. (Applause.)

We are celebrating the present Lenin anniversary under the profound impression of the glorious half-century anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A very important political and theoretical document which is devoted to this event—the report of the General Secretary of the Central. Committee of the CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev—provides a vivid picture of the tremendous accomplishments of the Soviet people and reveals the concrete tasks and prospects for the further development of our society in the spirit of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The celebration of the

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anniversary of the USSR has developed into a convincing demonstration of the historic correctness of Leninism, of the mighty vital force of our socialist system, and of the revolutionary transforming role of the Communist Party.

1. The Course of Lenin's Party--Communist Construction

Comrades! Our party is rightly called a Leninist party. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was present at its birth. Creatively developing Marxism, he developed the theoretical foundations and principles of the organization of a fighting party of the working class and the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism. After having created this party, Lenin boldly and resolutely directed its struggle toward the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of a new society.

This year will mark the 70th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party which was a turning point in the international workers' movement. It is with this historic congress that the formation of the world's first proletarian party of a new type is connected. The practice of the class struggle and of socialist construction has thoroughly confirmed the truthfulness of Lenin's teachings concerning the party as the highest form of the revolutionary organization of the working class and regarding its leading role in communist construction.

As a ruling party which has taken upon itself the responsibility for the fate of our homeland, the CPSU is confidently leading our country along the path to communism. All of the successes of the Soviet people are connected with the tireless work of the party, with its enormous organizational and political work. With Leninist wisdom and far-sightedness the party maps the course of the development of Soviet society, with Leninist skill it sets the countless possibilities of socialism into action, and with Leninist realism it determines our next tasks and persistently achieves their successful accomplishment. In all of its domestic and foreign policies the CPSU steadfastly follows Lenin's behests. The party is always with Lenin, and Lenin is always with the party. The party's strength consists in this, Lenin's immortality consists in this. (Stormy applause.)

The unbouded love and respect of our army of almost 15 million Soviet Communists for their leader and teacher and their inflexible fidelity to Leninism was expressed in the solemn and emotional act which initiated the exchange of party documents—in making out party card No. 1 in the name of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. (Stormy applause.)

As was emphasized at the 24th CPSU Congress, during the process of communist construction the role of the party constantly grows. This objective law manifests itself the more fully, the closer the unity of our party ranks and the greater the activity of every party organization and every communist. The first results of the organizational and political work

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which is connected with the exchange of party documents are already showing how extensively and beneficially this very important measure is influencing all of the aspects of the life of the party and an increase in the initiative and discipline of communists. Now every member of the party is even more demanding in his evaluation of his work and is more deeply conscious of himself as a participant in Lenin's great work.

When he opens his new model party card a communist reads the remarkable Leninist words: the party is the mind, honor, and conscience of our epoch. (Applause.) To be a member of such a party is a great happiness, a great trust, and, at the same time, a great responsibility. To be a Leninist-Communist means to serve the cause of the working class and of the entire laboring people in faith and truth, to selflessly give one's strength and abilities to the struggle for communism, and always and in everything to be worthy of the high title of party member. And, as Lenin called upon them to do, communists enkindle others with the fire of their initiative, inspire their workmates with their personal example and passionate party words, and bring communist ideynost into all of our affairs.

The party is successfully carrying out its leading and directing role thanks to the fact that it is connected in the closest way with the masses and profoundly and consistently expresses their interests. Soviet people show full confidence in the Communist Party and its fighting head-quarters—its Leninist Central Committee. (Prolonged applause.) They wholeheartedly approve of and support the policies of the CPSU. This is convincingly testified to by the unremitting gravitation of workers into the party and the constant replenishment of its ranks with the best representatives of our glorious working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsiya. The unity of the party and the people is the source of the all-conquering strength of Soviet society. (Applause.)

The CPSU is consistently implementing a line aimed at the development of socialist democracy and at the involvement of broad strata of the workers in the management of society. The work of the Soviets which are the political basis of our state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic spirit has become more active and diverse.

There has been a marked increase in the influence of such mass public organizations as the trade unions and the komsomol on the various spheres of our state, economic, and spiritual life. The life-affirming influence of Lenin's ideas is manifesting itself in the constructive labor of communists and non-party people and in the activeness, initiative, and enthusiasm of the masses.

Comrades! Lenin regarded economic construction as the chief field of the struggle for communism. As early as 1922, when the Civil War had hardly ended, Vladimir Il'ich, in defining the tasks of the country's development under peaceful conditions, emphasized: "Now let us go all out for the economy...."

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Lenin proceeded from the fact that only a powerful and highly developed economy can be a solid material foundation for a new socialist society, a reliable source for improving the well-being of the people, and a guarantee of the independence and defense capacity of the Soviet state. He worked out a strategic plan for the creation of a socialist economy in our country and led the very difficult work of its practical realization.

Lenin's principles of economic construction--national economic planning, democratic centralism, a combination of one-man authority and the actual participation of the workers in management, the organic unity of material and moral stimuli for labor, cost accounting, and mass competition--have become powerful levers in the development of our socialist economy.

In the very briefest historical period our country has strode from a tourgeois-landowner system and economic and cultural backwardness to a society of developed socialism—a society with a modern economy, a powerful scientific and technical potential, and a high level of culture. The achievements of Soviet science have received world recognition. Everywhere—on land, in the water, and in the air—our excellent domestic machines and apparatuses can be found in operation. Atomic energy has been put at the service of man. Outer space is increasingly becoming an object not only of study, but also of practical use in the interest of the economy. And for all of this, comrades, we are obliged to the Leninist policy of our party and to the selfless labor of the Soviet people. (Prolonged applause.)

Basing itself on the increased possibilities and needs of our society, the 24th CPSU Congress adopted a course aimed at achieving a sharper turn by our economy toward the solution of the diverse problems connected with improving the well being of the people. At the same time, this course provides for maintaining high rates of development in heavy industry as the basis of our country's economic might.

There is only one way to accomplish the social and economic program which has been worked out by the party—a thorough increase in the efficiency of social production. And the most important element here is an acceleration of scientific and technological progress, an improvement of the system of economic management, a better use of labor, material, and financial resources, and an increase in the effectiveness of socialist competition.

Our people is working with inspiration in accomplishing the 9th Five Year Plan. During the time which has passed since the Congress a serious step forward has been taken in strengthening the economic might of our homeland and in raising the standard of living of Soviet people. We have already become accustomed to the dimensions of our accomplishments, but the present scope of our constructive labor cannot but amaze us in comparison even with the recent past.

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During two years and three months of the present five-year plan approximately a trillion rubles worth of industrial output has been produced--as much as was produced during the years 1961-1965, that is, during the entire 7th Five-Year Plan. And in two years more of such types of output as gas, mineral fertilizers, passenger cars, refrigerators, and others have been produced than during the entire 7th Five-Year Plan.

Industry has gotten off to a good start during the current year. The plan for the first quarter for output sales has been fulfilled by 102 percent, compared with the first quarter of last year the increase in industrial production came to 6.4 percent, and average daily production increased by 7.8 percent.

Construction has received a gigantic scope in our country. During the past two years the economy's fixed productive capital increased by almost 80 billion rubles—this is more than all of the productive capital which the country possessed in 1950. Around 800 large state industrial enterprises have been put into operation, as well as a large number of shops, productions, and other facilities.

All of this convincingly testifies to the substantially increased possibilities of Soviet industry and to the heroic labor of our working class and cur entire people.

An enormous amount of work is being carried out to accomplish the Overall Program for the further development of agriculture which has been mapped out by the party. During the years 1971-1972 state capital investments in this branch of the economy increased by 1.7 times compared to the two first years of the previous five-year plan. There has been a substantial increase in deliveries of equipment, mineral fertilizers, and construction materials to the village. Lenin's dream about irrigating the country's arid areas is becoming a reality. Today an average of more than 600,000 hectares of new irrigated lands are being put into operation every year-1.7 times more than the annual average during the 8th Five-Year Plan.

Last year had extremely difficult weather conditions, and we were unable to reach the planning indicators for a number of basic types of cropping output. But even under these conditions, thanks to the firm course aimed at strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture which is being pursued by the party, the strenuous efforts and the increased expertise of our village workers, and a struggle for the grain by all of the people, an average of 14 quintals of grain per hectare was harvested. This is higher than the average annual yield during the previous five-year plan. As a result, the average annual grain harvest during the past two years came to around 175 million tons, which is 7 million tons more than the average annual harvest during the years 1966-1970. More rice than ever before was procured, and the largest cotton harvest in the country's history was obtained.

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Spring sowing is now in full swing. Our farmers have adopted a commitment to substantially increase the yields and expand the sown areas of agricultural crops, above all, of grain crops. They are fully determined not only to fulfill the state plan for the current year, but also to achieve a maximum compensation for the shortfalls of agricultural output which have occurred and to make use of every farm's resources with the greatest effect.

In a word, good possibilities are appearing in all of the branches of the economy for the year 1973--the decisive year of the 9th Five-Year Planto be finished by us with an excess over all of the basic planning indicators. And, comrades, the realization of these possibilities depends upon the workers themselves and upon each of us! (Applause.)

The program for improving the well-being of the people which was mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress is being consistently carried out. During two years of the five-year plan the overall consumption fund has increased by 23 billion rubles. Wages have been increased for railroad workers, a substantial number of agricultural mechanization experts, doctors, teachers, and certain other categories of workers. Minimum old-age pensions for workers and employees have been increased; pensions for kolkhoz workers have been improved; and stipends for students in vuzes and tekhnikums have increased. Payments and privileges for the population from the social consumption funds have increased by almost 15 percent.

Since the end of last year an important socio-economic measure of the five-year plan has been in the process of being carried out--an increase in minimum wages and a simultaneous increase in the wage rates and salaries of workers with average wages in industry, transportation, communications, state agricultural enterprises, and certain other production branches. The dimensions of this measure can be judged by the fact that it will cover more than 50 million people. As a result of it the income of workers and employees will increase by approximately 9 billion rubles a year. Already this year the new wage conditions are being applied to those working in the northern and eastern areas of the country, including the Urals.

A great deal is being done to see to it that the increasing monetary income of the workers is provided with a corresponding increase in the production of consumer goods. Retail commodity turnover increased during the two years by more than 14 percent, and the amount of domestic services for the population increased by 23 percent. Since the beginning of the five-year plan more than 4.5 million new apartments have been built. The network of educational institutions and cultural, medical, and children's institutions is growing, and other major measures are being carried out to improve the living conditions of Soviet people.

Thus, the party is posing the tasks of improving the well being of prople in a Leninist manner, broadly and purposefully. And it is accomplishing

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them in a Leninist manner, on the basis of and in keeping with an increase in the productivity of social labor. (Applause.)

In totalling up results, we must see, as Lenin taught us, not only our achievements, but also our shortcomings. And there are still quite a few of them. Many enterprises and also a number of ministries as a whole are not fulfilling their established assignments for output sales, the mastery of new equipment, and a rise in labor productivity and profitability. New facilities are still being commissioned slowly and operating capacities, raw materials and materials, and working time are sometimes made poor use of. Cases of wastefulness and excessiveness have not been gotten rid of. It is our common duty to resolutely struggle against all of these derelictions.

Comrades! We have to be more persistent in carrying out the main demand of the party in the field of economic construction which was formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev--"To sharply change our orientation and shift our emphasis to the intensive methods of economic management, thereby ensuring a serious increase in the efficiency of the economy." The key problem here is an acceleration of scientific and technological progress.

V. I. Lenin persistently demanded that all of the gains made by the human mind and all of the latest achievements of science and technology be put at the service of the construction of communism. And he gave us brilliant models of a genuinely scientific and revolutionary approach to the problems of technological progress.

Lenin was the initiator and organizer of the development of history's first long-term plan for the development of an economy on an advanced technical basis—the GOELRO (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia) plan. Today also this plan is a remarkable example of the solution of scientific and technical and socio-economic problems in their unity. As a party and state leader Lenin was to the highest degree characterized by a feeling for the new and an ability to see at the very origin of a scientific and technical idea the prospects for its development and practical use.

All of us must learn Lenin's attitude towards science and technology. And this is especially important now when the party and people are concentrating their efforts on the accomplishment of a task which has been put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress—to organically unite the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

It is essential above all to create such economic and organizational conditions as will promote to the maximum an increase in the effectiveness of scientific research and an acceleration of its practical use. Long-term forecasts of the development of science, technology and production, and also interbranch plans which provide for the coordinated work of scientific institutions, industrial enterprises, and associations at all of the stages of the creation and introduction of new equipment have to play their role here.

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The party's Central Committee regards it as advisable to concentrate our forces and resources on promising research and on the kind of development work which provides the possibility of taking an important step forward in the development of science and in raising the technical level of the economy. It is extremely important to achieve an increase in the efficiency of enterprises in mastering the production of improved machinery and equipment and good quality goods for the population and in an extensive use of highly productive technological processes involving an overall use of raw materials and materials.

After the 24th CPSU Congress our industry made marked progress in these directions. On the average, during the present five-year plan 3,500 types of industrial output are being mastered in series production in a year, while during the past five-year plan the number was 1,700. Obsolete output is being removed from production more resolutely now. There are definite successes in improving the quality of the products. A uniform system of state output certification has been introduced. More than 7,500 of domestic industry's best products have already been awarded the State Token of Quality. However, party committees and economic agencies and all of our cadres still have quite a bit to do in order to realize the demands of the Congress regarding an acceleration of technological progress and a substantial improvement of output quality.

Comrades! The party regards a further improvement of the system of production management and an increase in the precision and harmoniousness of our economic mechanism as one of the basic directions of its economic policy. The question of improving centralized planning, improving the technical and economic validation of plans, and strengthening discipline and responsibility for the fulfillment of state assignments was posed sharply at the December (1972) Plenum of the CC CPSU. What is involved is an improvement of planning and managemental work in all of the elements of the economy—from shops and enterprises to ministries and central management agencies—and a thorough use of the advantages of socialist planning and of the possibilities of production concentration and centralization.

"Communism," V. I. Lenin wrote, "requires and presupposes the greatest centralization of large production in the entire country." The recently adopted decree of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers on an improvement of the structure of industrial management is of fundamental importance in this respect. The enlargement of enterprises, the creation of powerful production associations, and the shift by most branches to a two- or three-element system of management have the task of accelerating the concentration of industrial production and the development of cost accounting principles in economic management.

Under present conditions economic methods of management are taking on increasing importance. Prices and credit, profits and material incentives funds, and planned norms--all economic levers have to impel enterprises

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to make full use of their reserves, to adopt intense plans, and to accelerate the use of scientific and technical achievements in production. An improvement of the mechanism of the economic reform is now being carried out in this direction.

Automated systems are playing an ever greater role in the management of production processes, enterprises, and branches of production. During the past two years almost as many systems of this kind were put into operation as during the mole of the previous five-year plan. At the present time more than half of our union ministries and central economic organizations are using electronic computers in the processes of management and planning. It should, however, be said that automated management systems could be used more extensively and with a substantially greater yield.

The increased dimensions of production and the greater complexity of economic relations in our economy and the expansion of the rights of enterprises and associations presuppose an increase in the responsibility of collectives and their leaders for the state of affairs at production and for a strengthening of labor and state discipline. And it is very valuable that our collectives themselves are more and more often and more and more resolutely declaring war against those who are holding back our forward movement.

The success of plans has always been and continues to be decided by people. Their creative initiative and expertise, their level of organization, and their persistent labor are embodied in our cities, electric power stations, plants, and kolkhozes—in everything that makes up the wealth of our country.

In recent years there has been a substantial increase in the public and production activeness of the workers. This is manifesting itself above all in socialist competition to whose development Lenin attributed exceptional importance. "The organization of competition," he wrote, "has to occupy a prominent place among the tasks of Soviet power in the economic field."4

The party's call to workers and kolkhoz workers and economic specialists to develop an All-Union Competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1973 state plan has found an ardent response in the entire country and has given rise to a powerful wave of new remarkable initiatives. The collectives of the advanced enterprises of Moscow and Leningrad have acted as the initiators of a competition under the motto of "Shock Tempos From the First Days of 1973!" The metallurgical workers of Magnitka and the miners of the Kuzbass and Donbass have initiated a competition for a more efficient use of equipment. The team cost accounting method of Moscow construction workers which ensures a substantial shortening of construction periods and an economy of resources is finding more and more followers. The grain farmers of the Kuban' have initiated a struggle for large harvests.

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A valuable initiative has been demonstrated by the advanced women workers of the Moscow Electrovacuum Instruments Plant who have committed themselves to use one hour a week to produce output from economized materials. At first glance, the commitment is a modest one, but if this initiative were to receive a universal dissemination, with the present dimensions of production it would provide billions of rubles worth of additional output. In this way the rivulets of creative initiatives are being filled by the flow of a national movement to increase production efficiency.

Socialist competition has now acquired a new scope and new dimensions. At the same time, it is being greatly enriched in its forms and content. The basic competition motto today is to give the country more and better quality output with less expenditures.

People of the older generation remember the movement for counter-plans of the time of the first five-year plans. Today these plans not only embody the continuity of labor traditions, but also develop economic methods which have been tested by practice in application to new conditions. Counter-plans successfully combine the assignments of a state plan with local initiative and with the socialist commitments of collectives. Competition becomes more purposeful and effective, and reserves which are discovered are more rapidly taken account of and utilized. It is the duty of party, trade union, komsomol, and economic agencies to seek to achieve a consistent implementation of Lenin's principles of socialist competition: wide publicity, the comparability of results, and the dissemination of advanced production experience.

The important problems of the development of our economy were actively and creatively discussed at the recent plenums of party committees and the general meetings of communists on the results of the December (1972) Plenum of the CC CPSU, and the ways to make fuller use of its possibilities were mapped out. The workers of all of the union republics have adopted socialist commitments to give the country 4.5 billion rubles worth of above-plan industrial output this year. This will be a weighty contribution to the five-year plan and a good labor gift to our homeland! (Prolonged applause.)

Tomorrow Soviet people will arrive at enterprises and construction sites and at fields and farms in order to take part in an All-Union Communist Saturday and to demonstrate their loyalty to the traditions of the Great Initiative and to the cause of Lenin.

Allow me at this festive meeting to wish great success to all of the participants in this wonderful holiday of labor. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades! The party regards a strengthening of the work on the communist education of the workers and an increase in their political and labor activeness to be an indispensable condition for the realization of our plans and one of the most important factors in the progress of our socialist

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society. The party here is persistently seeking to achieve a unity of economic and ideological-educational work and is demanding that the moral and political consequences of economic and administrative decisions be taken into account.

A further improvement of all of our ideological work is being fostered by the new ideas and conclusions which are contained in the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress, in the documents devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR and in the decrees of the party's Central Committee. These consist above all of the theses on developed socialist society, on the Soviet people as a new historical community of people, and on the ways to build the material and technical base of communism. The development of these and other important theoretical and political problems has added to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, has strengthened the scientific foundation and expanded the possibilities of ideological education, and has made its connections with practice more solid.

In educating Soviet people in the ideas of scientific communism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and a communist attitude toward labor, the party resolutely opposes the penetration into our environment of bourgeois and petty bourgeois views and mores. For a communist and for a Soviet citizen an active struggle against hostile ideological influences is a struggle for the victory of the principles of socialism and for the victory of our ideals.

The lofty moral qualities of the builders of communism are established in an uncompromising struggle against such phenomena which are alien to our system as apoliticalness and an indifference to social interests, hooliganism and drunkenness, and the theft of socialist property. These and other negative phenomena have to be overcome with all means: ideological and educational work, administrative influence, and through the development in every person of the needs and habits of a spiritually mature and highly cultured irdividual of socialist society and by his increasing his demands upon himself and his comrades.

With all of its work in the fields of economics, culture, and ideology the party is strengthening and developing our social and state system and is affirming the Soviet socialist way of life. (Applause.) This way of life is characterized by social optimism and by a firm confidence in tomorrow which are based on the magnificent social and economic gains of socialism, the real establishment of the right to work, and a constant improvement of the people's well being. This way of life is characterized by the profoundly human and collectivist character of relations between people which is engendered by the unity of their interests and goals. This way of life presupposes a high level of civic consciousness, an intolerance for short-comings, and social activeness which are based on a developed feeling of responsibility in each individual for the affairs of his collective and of society as a whole.

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The Soviet way of life is our most precious possession and our national pride. It is developed and enriched in the daily practice of economic and cultural construction. And the more purposefully and the better we work today, the more rapidly will Lenin's ideas on the comprehensive development of man and on the triumph of communism be embodied in practice.

2. Socialism and Peace are Inseparable

Comrades! With its revolutionary and progressive influence on world processes socialism is establishing peace and friendship among peoples. By revealing its advantages ever more fully, the new system is winning, as Lenin foresaw, ever deeper sympathy from conscious workers. It is in socialism that the world revolutionary movement and toiling mankind rightly see an example of the realization of the hopes of the popular masses and their hope and support.

The Soviet Union defends a supreme truth of life on the international arenathe interests of the working class and of all workers and the ideals of socialism and communism. Our Leninist party is effectively employing the foreign policy principles which were bequeathed to us by our great leader as a powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, and socialism and as an active means of defending freedom and the independence of peoples. (Applause.)

The problems of foreign policy and of the realization of the Program of Peace which was advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress are a subject of especial attention for the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government. These problems are being worked upon profoundly, concretely, and daily by the Politburo and personally by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. (Stormy applause.) The unprecedented peace offensive which has been unfolded by the Soviet Union in recent years and the serious positive changes which have been achieved in all spheres of international relations testify to truly gigantic work aimed at ensuring favorable foreign conditions for the construction of communism and for the strengthening of world peace. The fact that it has received wide recognition from the peoples of the socialist commonwealth and from all of progressive world public opinion is a proper evaluation of this work. (Prolonged applause.)

Historical experience convincingly tells us that the most reliable basis for a consistently class foreign policy and a successful struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is achievements in the construction of the new society. The changing balance of power on the international arena is being determined to an ever increasing extent by the fact that the socialist economy is the most dynamic economy in the world. The high economic development rates of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries are stable and are being accompanied by a steady growth in the material and cultural levels of the workers.

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Last year the industrial production of the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was approximately 8 times greater than the 1950 level, while in the developed capitalist states it increased by 3 times during the same period. The successes of the world socialist economy are producing an especially great impression against the background of a further deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system. One can see today in a large number of examples with what unprecedented force the law of the unequal economic and political development of capitalism which was discovered by Lenin is operating. Inter-imperialist contradictions are being exacerbated. The chronic instability of the capitalist economy is finding its expression in periodic declines in production, in unemployment, an increase in inflation, and currency and financial shocks. Oppression by the monopolies is intensifying, and the exploitation of the workers is becoming increasingly sophisticated.

Completely different prospects are opening up before the peoples of the socialist states. The coordination of national economic plans and the joint work which is being carried out within the framework of the Overall Program for Socialist Integration is not only helping our countries to make more efficient use of their resources, but is also making it possible for them to accomplish tasks with which it would be much more difficult to cope alone. By means of their common efforts the CEMA countries are solving the difficult problems of providing their national economies with many types of raw materials, fuel, machinery, equipment, transportation equipment, and computer equipment and they are carrying out joint scientific research. This is creating room for a fuller use of the growing potential of world socialism.

Close inter-party relations, comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance, an intensive exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction and growing foreign policy interaction and spiritual mutual enrichment—such today is the content of the relations between the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries. This, comrades, is an embodiment of Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism! (Applause.)

V. I. Lenin foresaw the coming of the time when the international unification of the victorious proletariat of several countries would exercise a decisive influence on world policy. This prevision is becoming an historical reality.

I would like to give especial emphasis to the fruitfulness of our fraternal foreign political cooperation. It is witnessed by the indisputable successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle to strengthen international security. Among these successes, first place is rightly occupied by the end of the war in Vietnam, the most prolonged and bloody in recent decades. It became possible above all thanks to the staunchness and courage of the patriotic forces of Vietnam and to the mass heroism of the Vietnamese people. It became possible

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thanks to the firm support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of all of the progressive forces of the world. This victory has a truly historic importance. (Applause.)

The outcome of the events in Vietnam reflected the new balance of power on the world arena and a further weakening of imperialist positions. It clearly showed that under contemporary conditions freedom loving peoples are capable of successfully withstanding the pressure and aggression of imperialism. The interventionists put an enormous military machine into action, undertook the mass destruction of a peaceful population, destroyed tens of thousands of their own soldiers, and spent almost 150 billion dollars, but, despite all these efforts, the largest imperialist power was compelled to withdraw.

We see our international duty in providing resolute support for the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in their endeavor to consolidate the peace which has been achieved, ensure the fulfillment of the Paris agreements, and realize the national hopes of the Vietnamese people. (Applause.)

The growing support of the countries of this region for the idea of collective security will promote an improvement of the situation in Asia.

Of great importance is the growing Soviet-Indian friendship and the development of economic and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and Japan and also other Asian states.

New possibilities for strengthening security and organizing wide international competition are opening up in Europe. For us the problem of European security does not have an abstract character. The memory is alive in our people of the fascist aggression which began from the center of Europe, of the incomparable loss of more than 20 million Soviet lives, and of the destruction of tens of thousands of our cities and villages. This is why the Soviet Union and its socialist fraternal countries have been so persistent for many years in struggling for the creation in Europe of solid guarantees of peace.

Our constructive policy is encountering increasing understanding from realistically thinking people. It can be stated with satisfaction that the results of postwar developments in Europe have now been made legal by an official recognition of the inviolability of existing borders. Relations between the Soviet Union and such influencial states as France and the FRG are expanding. An agreement has been concluded on West Berlin. The policy of a diplomatic blockade of the German Democratic Republic has suffered complete bankruptcy. A treaty has been signed on the principles of relations between the GDR and the FRG. Practical preparatory work is being conducted for an all-European conference which has the task of laying the basis for the future peaceful development of Europe under the

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conditions of security and the equal cooperation of all of the states on the continent.

The interests of ensuring peace are urgently demanding a solution of the problem of disarmament. And although the path to it is not 'n easy one, such important practical actions as the Soviet-American agreement on a limitation of strategic weapons and the convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons show that with a realistic approach agreement in this field is possible. If our partners show realism and a respect for the principle of equal security at the negotiations which are now being conducted, one can hope that further steps will be taken along the path of limiting the arms race.

Everyone now acknowledges that the political climate in the world has undergone an appreciable improvement after the Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow in May of last year. They were, it can be said, a turning point in the normalization of relations between the United States and the USSR.

We see reserves for improving Soviet-American relations. But we also see that there are forces which are opposing this in the United States. As for the position of the Soviet Union, it has been clearly defined. "If both states—the USSR and the United States," comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "will really move along the path which was jointly mapped out during the Moscow negotiations, then we believe that new substantial steps toward the development of Soviet-American relations and for the benefit of the good of the peoples of both countries and of world peace can become possible during the course of subsequent contacts." (Applause.)

The development of relations of peaceful coexistence means an expansion of constructive cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical, and cultural fields. Given the rapid growth of the economic potential of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist commonwealth, the possibilities for this are growing immeasurably. There is a growing understanding in the world of the hopelessness of attempts to place barriers in the way of the development of relations with the socialist countries. Of course, these relations can only be organized on the principles of mutual advantage and equal rights and with a complete rejection of discrimination and intervention in internal affairs.

Comrades! It has been possible to accomplish a great deal recently to prevent the danger of a thermonuclear war and to ensure the peaceful cooperation of peoples. But many things are also compelling us to show concern for maintaining our vigilance. All of the obstacles to a political settlement in Indochina have not yet been removed. The Israeli aggression against the Arab states with which we are in solidarity in their just cause continues. We shall continue in the future to consistently support the national-liberation movement and the just struggle of peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism.

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The Communist Party always remembers Lenin's warnings about imperialism's endeavor to solve international problems by means of force and is doing everything necessary to strengthen and improve the defensive shield of socialism. Thanks to the concern of the party and Soviet state and of the entire people and thanks to the efforts of the workers of our defense industry, our glorious Armed Forces are now equipped with the most modern weapons and military equipment. The combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy is on a high level. (Prolonged applause.) And this, as we have become convinced more than once, has a very sobering effect on all kinds of lovers of military adventures.

The Soviet Armed Forces are protecting our peaceful and constructive labor. And the attempts by imperialist and Peking propaganda to create a myth about a "Soviet military threat" are in vain. The peoples of all countries know and we would like once again to emphasize this: the defensive might of the USSR exists only for the defense of socialism, freedom, and the security of peoples and for the defense of the noble cause of democracy and peace! (Applause.)

Comrades! One of Lenin's chief behests to communists and to the working class was his behest to strengthen the unity of proletarian ranks. Our party regards itself as an inseparable part of the international communist and workers' movement. It is consistently implementing the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and is actively struggling for the unification of the ranks of the entire anti-imperialist front and, above all, of its entire communist vanguard.

In recent years there have been new and important achievements in the accomplishment of this vital task. After the 1969 Moscow Conference relations between the communist and workers' parties became even more close, and their domestic and foreign political activities became more fruitful. This is testified to by the recent major successes which were won by communists together with other left-wing forces in France and Chile. This is also testified to by the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the fraternal parties.

It cannot but be noted that the anti-Leninist, social-chauvinistic position of Peking continues to be a serious obstacle in the struggle against imperialism. It is strange and monstrous, if one is to use Lenin's words, that the present leaders of China who pretend to some kind of revolutionary spirit have cast off the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is strange and monstrous that the international policies of Peking are permeated by an anti-Sovietism and a schismatic spirit in relation to the communist and national-liberation movement and that they actually connect up with the actions of the frantic enemies of communism.

This anti-Leninist course is causing substantial change to the interests of the international working class and of world socialism and to the interests of the Chinese people itself. This is why our party and the Leninist-Communists

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of all countries are struggling and will continue to struggle against the Maoist course and for the unity of all of today's revolutionary forces. We believe that in the end the artificial barriers which are being erected by the Peking leadership against cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states will be removed and that the Chinese people will occupy a worthy place in the family of fraternal countries and in the common ranks of the fighters against imperialism. (Applause.)

Lenin saw the guarantee of the victory of our revolutionary cause in the unity of world socialism and of the international communist and workers' movement and in their close alliance with the struggle of everyone who is oppressed. We are always faithful to this Leninist line and will never retreat from it! (Stormy applause.)

Our firm conviction in the final victory of the cause of peace grows stronger as the anti-war movement of the peoples and of broad democratic public opinion unfolds. We stand for a real and increasingly active influence by the popular masses on world politics. This is why Soviet people give their support to the idea of holding a World Peace Congress.

One cannot but be gladdened when one looks over the broad panorama of the contemporary historical process. With all of its contradictoriness and with all of the difficulties in the movement by individual countries toward social progress, we clearly see that the world is developing as Lenin had predicted. The ideas of socialism and communism, freedom and independence, and of the fraternity and friendship of peoples for which Vladimir Il'ich struggled his entire life, have become, after having taken possession of the masses, a powerful material force which is laying the road into the bright future of mankind. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Comrades! The very truth of history, the vital interests of the vast majority of the population of the earth, and an objective need for a communistic transformation of society stand behind the great teachings of Lenin.

To prepare the transition to communism with the work of many many years—this is how Vladimir Il'ich defined the programatic goal of our party and of the constructive labor of the Soviet people. A substantial part of the road to this goal has now been covered. Basing ourselves on what has been achieved and won, we shall continue to strive to work and live in a Leninist manner, affirming with all of our thoughts and actions and with our labor and struggle the immortality of Lenin's cause and of the cause of the Communist Party. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the inspirer and organizer of all of our victories! (Stormy applause.)

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May the heroic Soviet people--the builder of communism--prosper and flourish! (Stormy applause.)

Long live Marxism-Leninism--the eternally living, all-conquering internationlist doctrine! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

FOOTNOTES

- 1. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 45, p 440.
- 2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol. 4, Moscow, 1974, pp 89-90.
- 3. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 36, p 392.
- 4. Ibid. p 150.
- 5. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol. 4, p 79.
- 6. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 44, p 151.

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D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (D. F. Ustinov, Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, in Russian 1979 pp 101-104

[Speech by D. F. Ustinov at a festive meeting devoted to the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the German Fascist forces near Tula and the awarding of the Order of Lenin to the City. 8 December 1966.]

[Excerpts] Fuller use has to be made of the rich revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of Tula people in the work to educate the workers and the youth. We cannot forget about the military threat from imperialism. The Soviet people must always be ready to repel any aggression. Under these conditions the educational development of ardent patriots of our socialist homeland is one of the most important tasks in the ideological work of party organizations.

Comrades!

The realization of our plans and the Soviet Union's forward movement along the path of communist construction is inseparably connected with its international situation. The stronger our foreign political positions, the more serenely and confidently will our country move forward to the achievement of the goals mapped out by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

The policies of the Soviet Union are aimed at strengthening the solidarity of the socialist countries, and at a struggle against imperialism and for the national and social liberation of peoples and for peace and socialism.

The appeal "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" is for us a sacred principle and the basis of the Soviet Union's solidarity with the socialist countries, with the working classes of other states, with the communist and workers' parties, and with the national-liberation movement in the entire world. The CPSU and the Soviet state stand firmly on the positions of proletarian internationalism. The Central Committee of our party is consistently carrying out the general line of the communist movement which was expressed in the documents of the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960.

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The Soviet Union regards the defense of the socialist gains of our fraternal countries as a vital matter for itself. We are in fraternal solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which is opposing the armed attack of the United States. Our country regards it as its duty to thoroughly promote a strengthening of the positions of the Republic of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, and the Korean People's Democratic Republic which are being subjected to constant pressure by imperialism.

Today, as a result of the aggressive policies of imperialism, a further aggravation of international tensions is taking place. Under these conditions, a strengthening of the unity of the world socialist commonwealth and of the entire world communist and workers' movement becomes especially important. This question is constantly at the center of our party's attention. Our consultations, visits, and friendly meetings are aimed at creating strong and stable relations between the fraternal socialist countries. The sphere of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the socialist states is growing wider. Commodity turnover is increasing and the production specialization and cooperation of the fraternal countries is growing deeper, which is more fully revealing the advantages set in the socialist system.

The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States which took place this summer in Bucharest was of great importance in strengthening the socialist commonwealth. The conference participants worked out a broad program for a struggle for peace and international security in Europe and unanimously came out in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. The solidarity of the Warsaw Pact countries represents an enormous contribution by socialism to ensuring world peace.

The Central Committee of our party and the Soviet government have been and continue to make considerable efforts to improve relations with the Chinese People's Republic. However, all of the steps by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties which have been aimed at improving relations with China and bringing about unity have given rise in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party only to an intensification of their schismatic activities in the world communist movement, an expansion of their anti-Soviet campaign, and an intensification of their struggle against the unity of the socialist countries and against the general line of the world communist movement. The political course of the Chinese leadership and its actions which are undermining the unity of the international communist movement are causing bitter regrets among us. All of this is in no way in accord with Marxism-Leninism and with proletarian internationalism, is alien to socialism, and is causing damage to our great cause.

Under present conditions the schismatic policies of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party are playing into the hands of imperialism and making the criminal war in Vietnam easier for it. The Chinese leaders are taking upon themselves a heavy responsibility before history with their actions.

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The Soviet people believe in the power of the great communist movement. We are convinced that no one will succeed in undermining the unity of communists and the solidarity of peoples. The time will come when the Chinese Communist Party will again occupy a worthy place in the ranks of the world communist movement. The future belongs to communism which is capable of overcoming all of the difficulties and obstacles in its way!

The intervention by the United States in Vietnam is being severely condemned by all progressive mankind. The war which was unleashed by Washington is threatening the peace not only in Southeast Asia, but also far beyond that region. Through the example of the rapacious American war in Vietnam the peoples of the entire earth are once again being convinced that United States imperialism is playing the role of a world gendarme and suppressor of freedom, and that it now represents the chief source of military danger.

Attempting to cover up the ugliness of this shameful role, the American aggressors from time to time make hypocritical statements about their love of peace and their endeavor to reach a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question. However, the impression is being created that they themselves are afraid that these statements may be taken seriously and, for this reason, they immediately commit new bandit-like actions like those bestial mass bombing attacks against the suburbs of Hanoi and other areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which they undertook on 2 and 4 December.

Such actions by the American imperialists are giving rise to indignation and protests from all Soviet people and from all of world progressive public opinion.

The Soviet Union thoroughly supports the courageous Vietnamese people in its struggle for freedom and independence. Our country has provided and will continue to provide the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with political, economic, and military assistance. The Soviet people is expressing its firm confidence in the final victory of the Vietnamese people.

We are not for one minute ignoring another important area of world politics—Europe. It cannot be forgotten that both world wars arose in Europe. Tens of millions of people were the victims of these wars. Especial vigilance has to be shown to the situation which is developing now in Europe. Militaristic tendencies are intensifying in the policies of the revanchist circles of Western Germany. Counting on the support of the United States, the West German revanchists are again dreaming of altering European boundaries in their favor. And the increased activeness of neo-fascist elements in Western Germany which are calling for a new campaign against the East cannot but cause anxiety in the peoples.

However, Europe today is completely different than it was 15 or 20 years ago. The mighty socialist camp has developed and grown stronger. The

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first German workers' and peasants' state--the German Democratic Republic--has appeared. Our defensive alliance--the Warsaw Pact--is a bastion of peace. Demanding the recognition of existing European borders and an absolute prohibition against access of the FRG to nuclear weapons, the Warsaw Pact states are firmly confident that peace in Europe can be defended.

Following Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union is affirming the principles of complete equal rights, mutually advantageous cooperation, respect for national sovereignty, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states on the international arena.

The present international situation is marked by great complexity and contradictoriness, however, we can confidently look to the future. No intrigues by imperialism are capable of changing the main tendency of world development which consists in the fact that a further strengthening of the positions of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth is taking place, the upsurge in the national-liberation movement is continuing, the ranks of the communist and workers' parties are growing, and the anti-imperialist front of the struggle against aggression and for peace and the security of peoples is becoming stronger.

While pursuing its peace loving foreign policy, the Communist Party is not for a minute forgetting about the aggressive essence of imperialism and, for this reason, is constantly strengthening the defensive might of our country and maintaining the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union in combat readiness. The CC CPSU and the Soviet government are convinced that the workers of Tula, like the entire Soviet people, will continue to make a worthy contribution to strengthening the defense capacity of our great homeland.

Permit me now to carry out an honorable commission from the CC CPSU, Presidum of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers and to present the Order of Lenin to the glorious city of Tula.

Dear Comrades! Permit me in conclusion to once more ardently congratulate you and in your person all of the workers of the city of Tula and of the oblast on your deserved award and to wish you new successes.

Permit me to express my confidence that the working class and intelligents in of the now order-bearing city of Tula and the workers of the order-bearing Tul'skaya Oblast will continue to give all of their strength, knowledge, and experience to the great cause of communist construction.

Long live our great Soviet people, a hero-people, a worker-people!

Long live our glorious Communist Party which is leading the Soviet people to communism!

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Long live the Central Committee of the CPSU--the General Headquarters of our glorious Leninist Party!

(The speech by Comrade D. F. Ustinov was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

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SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE--THE HIGHEST GOAL

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (D. F. Ustinov: Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the voters of the Kovrovskiy election district in connection with the elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. 27 February 1967, pp 113-115]

[Excerpts] The workers of the village decided to achieve an increase in the yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, to reduce the cost of output by no less than 5 percent, to make all of the sovkhozes profitable, and to increase the monetary income of kolkhoz workers by 10 percent.

Comrades! There is a great deal of political and labor enthusiasm in the country now. The socialist competition for a worthy celebration of the anniversary of Great October and to gladden our remarkable homeland with new labor successes is growing wider with each passing day. Permit me to express my confidence that the workers of the city of Kovrova and of the rayon will be in the first ranks of the competitors and will emerge as victors in the competition in honor of the 50th anniversary of October and will win the memorial Red Banners of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Now, comrades, permit me to consider certain questions of the international situation.

In its foreign policy work our party is being guided by the course which was formulated by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

The December (1966) Plenum of the CC CPSU whose decision has been published devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of foreign policy and of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement.

The international situation at the present moment is very difficult. It is being exacerbated by the American aggression in Vietnam, by the fact

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that many European problems remain uncolved, and by the activization of neo-nazi and revanchist forces in the FRG. The schismatic policies of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China are providing support for the aggressive intentions of the American imperialist.

The fallacious policies of the Mao Tse-tung group have led the country into a blind-alley. Seeing no way out, the Chinese leadership is casting about from one adventure to another. One of these adventures is its anti-Sovietism. Today Mao Tse-tung and his entourage are providing invaluable services for the imperialists with their policies. These policies are weakening the front of the anti-imperialist forces and are complicating the entire political situation in Asia. All of this is striking a blow in the back, first of all, of the heroic Vietnamese people in its struggle against the American aggressors. In the face of the provocations which are being organized by the Chinese leaders Soviet people are showing complete self-possession and a high degree of political maturity. Standing firmly on the positions of proletarian internationalism, our people sees the present events in China with bitterness and pain and sincerely sympathizes with the Chinese people and the Communist Party of that country which is now experiencing such a tragedy.

The development of events in China has once again confirmed the correctness of the line of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government and of the decisions of the December (1966) Plenum of the CC. These decisions have been unanimously approved by all of the communists and all of the workers of our country.

While unmasking the adventuristic course of the Mao Tse-tung group, we stand for an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and for an improvement of relations between our parties. This kind of policy fully accords with the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and of the Chinese Communist Party.

The CC CPSU and the Soviet government have repeatedly expressed our position on the question of the American aggression in Vietnam. We have helped, are helping, and will continue to help our Vietnamese friends; we will not leave a fraternal socialist state in trouble and will continue to provide Vietnam with diverse assistance in its heroic struggle.

The Central Committee of our party is devoting a great deal of attention to ensuring European security.

The Soviet Union is waging its struggle for security in Europe in close contact with all of the European socialist countries. The Bucharest Declaration which is exercising a great positive influence on a relaxation of tensions in Europe is the program of their joint actions.

We are finding support from the broad popular masses in this struggle, basing ourselves on the active assitance of the progressive forces of

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Europe and, first of all, of the communist and workers' parties of our continent, and are seeking an improvement of the European political situation.

Our efforts are aimed at not allowing the West German revanchists and militarists to gain strength and, above all, at not allowing them to get their hands on nuclear weapons; and, on this basis, at strengthening the security of our western borders and the borders of the socialist states which are friendly to us and creating the conditions for wide and mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe among countries with different social systems.

The proposal to call an all-European conference to examine the questions of security and cooperation in Europe which was advanced by the socialist states is gradually winning universal recognition. We can be confident that the active international policy of the Soviet Union which was defined by the 23rd CPSU Congress and is aimed at strengthening the peace and security of the peoples, at rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, and at providing assistance to the national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples will provide our country with the necessary conditions for peaceful construction.

Comrades! Now, during days when we are preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Great October, the Soviet people can see especially clearly what broad horizons for the development of our homeland have been opened up by socialism and what a field of activity is open before them for the construction of a new society.

In indestructible alliance and in monolithic unity with the non-party workers of the country of Soviets our Leninist Party is going into the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

Giving their votes to the candidates of the life-tested block of communists and non-party people, the Soviet people will vote for the implementation of the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new five-year plan, for strengthening the might and defense capacity of our homeland and for strengthening peace in the entire world, and for an inseparable connection between the party and the people.

The Communist Party is responding to the trust and great love of our people with an unshakable determination to ensure the construction of a communist society. No power in the world will be able to prevent us from achieving this great task.

In concluding my speech, I want to wish you, dear comrades, great success in your work and happiness in your personal lives.

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Once again I express my sincere gratitude to all of the voters for the great trust which they have shown in me and I assure them that I shall give all of my strength to serving our Soviet people, our party, and the great cause of the construction of a communist society.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with applause.)

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ALL OF OUR STRENGTH, KNOWLEDGE, AND EXPERIENCE FOR COMMUNISM

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (D. F. Ustinov: Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by D. F. Ustinov at a solemn meeting devoted to the presentation of the Order of Lenin to Permskaya Oblast. 26 May 1967, pp 128-131]

[Excerpts] One must also mention one more important task of party-political work among the masses which is directly connected with today's festive holiday. We have rich revolutionary and labor traditions, and fuller use has to be made of them in the education of the workers and the youth.

We have to constantly remember about the military threat from imperialism. The Soviet people has to be constantly ready to repel any aggression. In this connection, the moral and political training of Soviet people and the cultivation of ardent patriots of our socialist homeland and convinced fighters for communism is one of the most important tasks in the ideological work of party organizations.

Comrades! Permit me to briefly consider some of the problems of the current international situation and of our foreign policy.

As was noted by the 23rd CPSU Congress, the policies of the Soviet Union on the world arena have as their goal to ensure, along with the other socialist countries, favorable international conditions for the construction of socialism and communism; to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and their friendship and fraternity; to support the national-liberation movements and to carry out comprehensive cooperation with the young developing states; and to consistently defend the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to give a decisive rebuff to the aggressive forces of imperialism, and to save humanity from a new world war. The Central Committee of our party is consistently putting this policy into practice.

The Plenum of the CC CPSU which was held in December 1966 made a profound analysis of the situation which has developed in the world and mapped out measures aimed at the realization of the foreign political line of the

Soviet state which was worked out by the 23rd CPSU Congress. The Plenum again confirmed our firm resolution to put a stop to the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists and to constantly struggle for the solidarity of the world communist movement and the unity of all revolutionary forces.

The problem of European security occupies a large place in current international relations. To ensure the security of the European continent is one of the decisive conditions for strengthening peace in the entire world. It cannot be forgotten that both world wars began in Europe. The memory of the many millions of people who were the victims of these wars demands a high level of vigilance with regard to the development of events in Europe. It is necessary to speak about this, first of all, in connection with the strengthening of the militaristic tendencies in the policies of the ruling circles of West Germany which have made revanchist demands and importunate demands for nuclear weapons a pivot of their state policy. Basing themselves on the support of the United States, the West German revanchists are dreaming about reorganizing European boundaries.

In this situation, the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties on the problems of security in Europe which was recently held in Karlovy Vary is of exceptional importance.

The conference worked out a complete program for ensuring peace and security on the European continent. It raised the question of the establishment of new relations among the European states based on a general relaxation of tensions and on mutual trust. And this demands a recognition of the unshakableness of the postwar borders of the European countries, of the fact of the existence of two German states with different social systems, and the exclusion of the possibility of access by the FRG to nuclear weapons in any form. The European workers' movement and all peace-loving democratic forces are faced with the task of seeking to achieve cooperation by all of the states of Europe, the conclusion of a treaty renouncing the use of force or the threat of the use of it and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, the normalization of relations between all states and the GDR, the elimination of artificially created barriers in the economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe, and the solution of a number of other important problems.

The Karlovy Vary conference supported a proposal to call a conference of all of the European states on the problem of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe. This proposal is finding an increasingly broad response.

The participants in the conference at Karlovy Vary devoted a great deal of attention to the unification of their forces in supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people. They called for an even wider development of the struggle to halt the criminal American intervention in Vietnam.

The conference condemned the military coup in Greece which was inspired by and is being supported by the imperialist circles of the United States.

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Feeling themselves losing the ground under their feet, the reactionary elements in that country undertook an extreme measure—the establishment of an open military dictatorship. The military junta is carrying out reprisals against its political enemies and thousands of democrats have been thrown into jails.

The meeting in Karlovy Vary developed into a mighty demonstration of the growing influence of the communists of Europe and into a strengthening of their unity and solidarity. It convincingly demonstrated that the communists are the most consistent fighters for a strengthening of European and international security.

The outcome of the conference was welcomed with great satisfaction by all who are really for peace and security in Europe and in the entire world. Our party and the entire Soviet people ardently approve of and support the historic documents of this conference.

The situation in Southeast Asia where the American imperialists are perpetrating a bloody robbery against the Vietnamese people continues to attract especial attention. The criminal war by the United States in Vietnam serves a still further testimony to the fact that American imperialism is playing the role of a world gendarme and a suppressor of the freedom and independence of peoples. But the American aggressors will not break the will of the courageous Vietnamese people. Its cause is a just one. On the side of struggling Vietnam is the powerful support of the socialist countries, of the broadest popular masses and of all of those who cherish freedom, peace, and the happiness of people.

The goals of the struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people are close and understandable to Soviet people. For this reason our country has and will continue to provide complete assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam in its just struggle.

The events in Vietnam are again and again urgently posing the question of the importance in the present situation of strengthening the solidarity of all of the socialist countries and creating a single front of progressive forces to repel the American aggression.

There is no need to doubt that in the face of a united front of all of the socialist countries, including China, the aggressor would behave more cautiously and the task of halting the American aggression would be greatly facilitated.

However, all of the proposals of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties aimed at improving relations with the Communist Party of China and at cnsuring unity of action are being rejected by the Chinese leadership. Mao Tse-tung and his group are stubbornly continuing their subversive schismatic activities on the international arena and are expanding their anti-Soviet campaign. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the political course of

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the Mao Tse-tung group and its practical actions have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and with proletarian internationalism, are discrediting socialism, and are doing damage to our great cause. The schismatic actions of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party are patently playing into the hands of imperialism and making it easier for it to conduct its criminal war in Vietnam. With their actions Mao Tse-tung and his group are taking upon themselves a heavy responsibility before history and before all of the fighters against imperialism.

The present international situation is marked by great complexity. Nevertheless, Soviet people can confidently look to the future. No intrigues by imperialism are capable of changing the main tendency of world development which consists in the fact that a further strengthening of the positions of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist commonwealth is taking place, the influence of communist and workers' parties is growing, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the Asian, African, and Latin American countries is continuing, and the anti-imperialist front of the struggle against aggression and for peace and security is growing stronger.

Consistently defending the interests of socialism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is doing everything necessary to ensure peaceful conditions for the development of our homeland and for the constructive labor of the Soviet people—the builder of communism. We shall continue to steadfastly follow a Leninist foreign policy course which accords with the vital interests of all peoples. While pursuing a peace—loving foreign policy, the Communist Party is constantly showing concern for strengthening the defensive might of our country, for organizing the production of the latest military equipment and supplying it to our army and navy, and for maintaining the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union in constant combat readiness.

Comrades! The Soviet people is advancing toward the 50th anniversary of Soviet power with optimism and a profound belief in the future. We are convinced that this year will do good service for the cause of the progressive development of mankind: it will bring the triumph of communism closer in our country, and will be marked by a further growth of the forces of socialism on the world arena and by the unification of communist ranks and of all of the revolutionary forces of the present day in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for peace, national independence, and democracy in socialism.

It gives me great gladness to carry out an honorable commission from the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers—to present you with the Order of Lenin.

Dear comrades! The award to Permskaya Oblast is a recognition by the party and by our entire country of the enormous services of the working class,

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kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia of the oblast to the cause of strengthening the economic might of the world's first socialist state.

Henceforth, the Order of Lenin will forever shine on the banner of your oblast as a symbol of your labor feats, glorious revolutionary traditions, and of the struggle of the workers and all of the toilers of the oblast for the establishment of Soviet power and the construction of socialism and communism in our country.

Permit me once again to ardently congratulate you and in your person all of the workers of Permskaya Oblast on their deserved reward and to wish you new successes in the further development of your industry, agriculture, science, and culture.

Permit me to express my confidence that the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia of order-bearing Permskaya Oblast, under the leadership of the oblast party organization, will mark the great holiday of the Soviet people--the 50th anniversary of October....

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ANALYSIS, SEARCH, AND CREATIVITY

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at the 17th Chelyabinskaya Oblast Party Conference. 21 February 1968, pp 143-146]

[Excerpts] A high level of labor discipline and organization is one of the indispensable conditions for an increase in production efficiency. V. I. Lenin repeatedly stated that the construction of the new life is impossible without conscious iron discipline, organization, and order.

A solid social foundation has been created in our country for a conscious attitude toward labor. Millions of Soviet people are working honestly and selflessly. However, we still frequently encounter cases of a lack of discipline, extravagance, and slovenliness at production. The necessary struggle against disorderliness and self-seeking is still not being waged at certain enterprises and construction sites and at certain kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There is a tolerant attitude toward violators of labor discipline and of production and technological operational modes. Truancy and lateness is still widespread.

In conducting ideological work among the workers and, especially, among the youth, party committees must not limit themselves solely to an explanation of their rights. Soviet people have to be persistently educated in a spirit of a profound understanding of their social duty and of a high level of exactingness toward the fulfillment by every individual of the obligations which are placed upon him by society.

At the same time, a resolute stop must be put to instances of a scornful attitude by some leaders to the members of their collectives and of a lack of respect for the honor and dignity of Soviet man which are impermissible in Soviet reality. Unfortunately, party organizations do not always pose these questions sharply and do not always create an atmosphere of intolerance toward such phenomena.

In the performance of all of our political-educational work consideration has to be given to the growing intensity of the ideological struggle of

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the two systems. Bourgeois propaganda is employing ever more subtle and sophisticated methods and makes use of any difficulty we have and of any error we make in order to sow doubts in the consciousness of Soviet people, to revive private property, nationalistic, and religious survivals, to oppose the younger generation to the older one and the intelligents in to the party, and to defame the ideals of communism. We must not forget for one minute that we are dealing with an experienced and treacherous enemy who knows how to adapt himself to any new situation in the world. Therefore, comrades, it is very important to keep the initiative in one's own hands in this struggle and to conduct communist propaganda skillfully and aggressively.

Yet, we do not always attack, and we do not always resolutely unmask the reactionary essence of imperialism and its ideology.

All of us have to think about how to activate the struggle against bourgeois propaganda. This work has to have a more concrete and purposeful character. The basic strategic line of our struggle against bourgeois ideology is propaganda for the Soviet way of life and for the advantages of socialism over capitalism and the unmasking of the anti-popular essence of bourgeois ideology, morality, and culture.

The struggle against bourgeois ideology is one of the most important forms of the class struggle, of a struggle for the establishment of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in the minds of people. There is not and cannot be any kind of peaceful coexistence between the two ideologies--communist and bourgeois.

In the present international situation when the threat of war has not been removed from the agenda and imperialism is intensifying tensions, the military-patriotic education of Soviet people and, first of all, of the youth is an important ideological task of the party.

The Soviet people and all progressive mankind is at the present time making preparations for some important dates—the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. These names are infinitely precious to all of the peoples of the earth; they have become the banner of the revolutionary reorganization of society and a symbol of the new world.

Both of these anniversaries will be celebrated as holidays of the workers of our entire planet. The preparations for them have to be carried out under the token of a further strengthening of all ideological work.

Comrades! The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government are constantly keeping international problems in their field of vision. There is every reason to say that the foreign policy line which our party worked out at the 23rd Congress and at the December (1966) and June (1967)

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Plenums of the CC CPSU has completely justified itself.

As is known, last year imperialism undertook a number of serious counterattacks against the forces of socialism and of the national-liberation movement. Continuously intensifying the escalation of their criminal aggression in Vietnam, American military circles attempted to deliver a decisive defeat to the National Liberation Front and to break the fighting spirit of the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with barbaric bombing attacks.

But the aggressors again miscalculated. An army of more than one million men of the United States and of the South Vietnamese puppet regime was unable to achieve their goals. The help of the socialist countries made it possible for the Vietnamese patriots to repel the enemy attacks. The latest events show that the Vietnamese people are retaining the initiative in the struggle against the interventionists.

The American aggression in Vietnam has been for millions of people in the capitalist countries, including in the United States itself, a new proof of the fact that American imperialism has taken upon itself the role of a world gendarme. However, the robber actions of the United States on Vietnamese lands and its provocations in Laos and Cambodia and on the shores of the Korean People's Democratic Republic are coming up against growing resistance from the peace loving forces. They have given rise to a profound moral and political isolation for the United States and its present leadership. A wave of anti-American feelings and of demands that the Vietnamese people be given the possibility of deciding its own fate is spreading in all of the areas of the world.

We, for our part, have been doing and will do everything to foil the plans of the American aggressors and to restore peace in Southeast Asia.

The line of the CC of our party has also completely justified itself in the Arab East. The economic, political, and diplomatic aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states which has been provided to Arab countries with progressive regimes has localized and weakened the danger from outside which threatened them. It has foiled the military and economic plans of Tel Aviv and of the imperialist states which stand behind it to destroy these regimes and to strike a severe blow against the national-liberation movement in the entire Near East.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government are devoting a great deal of attention to the problem of European security. The emergence on the West German political arena of a national-democratic party which is a direct successor of Naziism, the accelerated creation in the FRG of its own military industry, and the fascist military coup in Greece-all of this testifies to the fact that the danger of neo-Naziism and of revanchism is growing in Western Europe.

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Neo-Naziism can become a serious obstacle to the realization of the constructive program for security and peace in Europe which was worked out in Karlovy Vary by the European communist and workers' parties and which accords with the interests of all peace-loving peoples.

However, the activization of imperialism by no means signifies that it is succeeding in changing the balance of power in its own favor. On the contrary, the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions and of political disagreements is greatly undermining its common positions.

The Central Committee of the CPSU is realistically evaluating the danger to peace which is contained in imperialism's military adventures. In a situation in which international tensions are being exacerbated, all of the necessary measures are being taken to strengthen the defense capacity of our state. The Soviet Armed Forces which will celebrate their 50th anniversary in 2 days are a constant subject of especial concern and attention from the CC and the Politburo of the CC CPSU.

The Soviet people loves its army and it has supplied it with the best weapons. With these weapons any aggressor who thinks of attacking our homeland or its allies can be destroyed. Permit me from this rostrum to ardently congratulate Soviet soldiers on their great holiday.

Comrades! Proceeding from a scientific analysis of the international situation and basing itself on Lenin's thesis concerning the necessity for unity in the ranks of the world communist movement, our party is carrying out a consistent line aimed at preparing for a new international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The question of calling a conference has already been put on a practical basis. A consultative meeting which in the next few days will begin in Budapest will be an important step toward it. Most of the parties will send their delegations to it. It is believed that around 70 of the 88 communist parties in the world will gather in Budapest.

We believe that the consultative meeting will make a positive contribution to unifying the communists of the entire world and to the further development and deepening of the world revolutionary process.

Thus, comrades, despite a certain activization of the forces of imperialism and reaction, the initiative on the international arena is being held firmly in the hands of those forces which are determining the future of mankind. We can say today with confidence that the far-sighted and flexible foreign policy of our party is creating entirely favorable international conditions for progress by the Soviet country along the path to communism!

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Comrades! The 23rd CPSU Congress opened up unprecedented prospects for the constructive work of our people which is being led by the party. Our party committees and all of our communists are full of energy and determination to give all of their strength to the sacred cause of the working class, the cause of the party, and the cause of communism.

The party conferences which are now taking place are demonstrating the close unification of the ranks of the CPSU and the increased responsibility of millions of communists for the accomplishment of the great and many-sided tasks of communist construction. This is also convincingly being demonstrated by all of the work of your conference.

I wish you, dear comrades, great success in your work for the good of our homeland.

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU to express my confidence that as in the past, the communists of the Chelyabinsk party organization will be in the front ranks of the builders of communism!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to by the participants in the party conference with great attention and was frequently interrupted by applause.)

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IN OUR FRATERNAL FAMILY OF PEOPLES

D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, at a festive meeting of the Udmurtskaya Obkom of the CPSU and the Supreme Soviet of the Udmurt ASSR devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Udmurt ASSR. 2 November 1970, pp 157-159]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

In accomplishing the truly tremendous tasks of communist construction the party constantly shows concern for creating the most favorable foreign political conditions for the Soviet people's progress toward its great goal and for ensuring a further change in the balance of power on the international arena in favor of socialism and the workers' and national-liberation movements.

If the situation which has developed today in the world were to be characterized as a whole, there can be only one conclusion: events are developing in a direction which is favorable for world socialism, for the international working class, and for the entire anti-imperialist movement.

The world system of socialist states is the decisive force in the struggle against imperialism. It serves as a reliable support for the communist and workers' movement, for the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and for the struggle of the peoples for their national liberation.

The constant growth of the economic and defense might and of the political influence of the socialist states is a highly important factor in the struggle for the peace and for the security of peoples. The attractive example of socialism is promoting important changes which are occurring on the international arena.

The strength and vitality of the international working class is growing. Not a day passes without reports about new fierce class battles by the working class against the monopolies and for its economic, social, and

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political rights. In Italy, England, France, and other capitalist countries the strike struggle is taking on an increasingly sharp character. In the United States of America, that bulwark of modern capitalism, the strike movement of the working class is growing. Mass actions against militarism and racial oppression are developing into a struggle against the very system of imperialist dominion and exploitation.

The vanguard positions in the struggle against imperialism are occupied by the international communist movement whose influence on the course of events in the world is constantly growing stronger. The solidarity of the communist parties on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis is continually growing stronger. The international Conference of fraternal parties in Moscow in June 1969 played an enormous role in the consolidation of our movement. The positive results of the conference were consolidated by a political campaign connected with the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin which received a world-wide scope.

You know very well, comrades, that the situation on the international arena is a difficult one. Imperialism remains a dangerous enemy, and it is undertaking counter-attacks against the revolutionary forces now in one and now in another area of the world. However, imperialism's actions are being given an increasingly resolute rebuff.

Important, positive changes have occurred on the European continent. Thanks to the consistent and firm course of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries it has been possible to achieve some progress toward improving the political climate in Europe.

The treaty which has been signed between the USSR and the FRG is a major international factor. This treaty legalizes the inviolability of the borders existing now in Europe and, particularly, the Oder-Neisse border, and also the border between the GDR and the FRG. We are convinced that its ratification will become an important step toward weakening international tensions in Europe.

The recent visit to our country of the President of France G. Pompidou was of great importance. The outcome of the visit demonstrated the greater cooperation between the USSR and France. There is no doubt that this development of Soviet-French relations is a major factor in strengthening European security.

The idea of holding an all-European conference of states which is being consistently supported by the Soviet Union is receiving support not only from the broad democratic forces, but also from many governments.

At the same time, it would be an error not to see that this course of events in Europe is encountering increasingly strong resistance from the reactionary and revanchist circles in certain countries. This is shown by the activization of right-wing and neo-fascist forces in the FRG which

are opposing the Soviet-West German treaty, and also by the endeavor of a number of governments, primarily the United States, to delay the all-European conference.

Southeast Asia remains one of the most dangerous centers of tension. The recent proposals by the President of the United States which have been advertised as a "new approach" by Washington have graphically shown that the American imperialists are striving by any means to preserve and strengthen their positions here which are growing weaker under the blows of the patriots and to solidify the position of their puppets. As in the past, the Soviet Union which is faithful to its international duty will provide comprehensive support to the struggle of the Vietnamese patriots and the peoples of Indochina against the American occupiers and their hirelings. (Applause.)

United States imperialism has created and is maintaining a dangerous crisis in the Near East. And although its calculations—to use the Israeli occupiers to destroy the progressive democratic regimes in the Arab countries—have clearly failed, imperialism has not given up its aggressive plans. This is once again shown by the attempts of the American imperialists to make use of the conflict which arose in Jordan in order to split the liberation forces and to frustrate a political settlement of the Near East crisis.

The facts show that wherever situations are being heated up and wherever blood is flowing it is perfectly clear that this is the work of imperialism and, above all, of American imperialism, the most belligerent. At the same time, the facts also show that the policies and actions of American imperialism are giving rise to the wrath and hatred of the peoples who are rising more and more actively for a decisive struggle against it and who are achieving important successes. It is impossible to remake imperialism, but the people can, they are capable of foiling its plans and dooming its adventures to defeat! The positive changes in the situation on the international arena and the achievements which have recently been reached by the anti-imperialist forces were possible to an enormous extent thanks to the Soviet Union.

We take note with pride that the foreign policy line of the Central Committee of our party which was defined by the 23rd CPSU Congress, a line which organically combines Marxist-Leninist firmness in questions of principle and tactical flexibility and a far-sighted purposefulness has not only achieved serious international successes for the Soviet Union, but has also made it possible to substantially advance the world struggle by the revolutionary forces for the national and social liberation of peoples and for peace, democracy, and socialism. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

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STRENGTHEN THE MIGHT OF THE HOMELAND

D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the voters of the Kovrovskiy election district in connection with elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. 25 May 1971, pp 171-174]

[Excerpts] The USSR and the other socialist countries have made a large contribution to the struggle for the peace and security of peoples. Socialism's international positions have become even more solid. (Applause.)

Our party attributes especial importance to the development of cooperation with the communist parties of the fraternal countries. The world socialist system is a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and its unification and strengthening have accelerated the development of the world liberation process. In the historical conflict with capitalism the socialist social system has shown its great vital force.

During the last five years the political cooperation of the fraternal states, above all, within the framework of the Warsaw Pact has become even stronger and deeper. Their coordinated policy has become more effective and this has made it possible to achieve a number of important successes on the international arena. The socialist countries have jointly put forward a constructive program for ensuring European security; they have frustrated NATO's plans to allow West Germany access to nuclear weapons; and they have achieved a strengthening of the international positions of the German Democratic Republic.

The active support and assistance of the Soviet Union is a vitally important contribution to the struggle of the patriots of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. "This support," the First Secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Vietnam Comrade Le Zuan said from the rostrum of the 24th CPSU Congress, "is a powerful stimulus which is inspiring my countrymen and the fighters of all of our country to new and even bigger victories; at the same time, it is giving rise in the Vietnamese people to an even deeper sympathy for the fraternal Soviet people." *

*"24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stenographic Report," Moscow, Vol 1, 1971, p 192.

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The decisive actions by the socialist states in the Near East have compelled Israel to stop expanding its aggression and have frustrated the attempt by the imperialist powers to destroy the progressive Arab regimes.

It was noted at the Congress that during the past five-year period there was a substantial growth in the economic potential of the socialist states, the political foundations of socialism became stronger, the well-being of the peoples was improved, and the science and culture of the fraternal countries developed successfully. The strengthening of their economic cooperation and the expansion and deepening of their economic relations is helping to increase the efficiency of social production and is providing for the development of the economies of each of the socialist states at high rates.

At the same time, as is known, certain difficulties and complications have shown up in the socialist world. In the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Congress a principled class evaluation was given of the events in Czechoslovakia which have again reminded us of the fact that the domestic anti-socialist forces which still survive in a number of fraternal countries can under certain circumstances become activated and undertake an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup, counting on the support of world imperialism. The 24th CPSU Congress unanimously approved of the political position and practical activities of the CC CPSU in providing the Czechoslovakian people with internationalist aid for the defense of the gains of socialism. (Applause.)

In his speech at the Congress the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Comrade Gustav Husak expressed his profound gratitude for this assistance which saved the country from a civil war and a counter-revolution and helped it to defend the gains of socialism.**

The idea that the CPSU will not spare its strength to further strengthen the socialist commonwealth, to solidify the friendship between our fraternal bodies, and to strengthen the political, economic, and cultural relations of our countries ran like a red thread through the work of the Congress.

The principal position of the CC CPSU on the question of relations with the Chinese People's Republic and the measures by the Soviet government aimed at a normalization of these relations received the full approval of the Congress. The delegates of the Congress and many representatives of the fraternal communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned the anti-Soviet course and schismatic activities of the Peking leadership which is causing especial harm under present conditions when imperialism is attempting to activate its aggressive policies.

**See, "The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stenographic Report," Vol 1, pp 261-262.

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Our party will continue to uncompromisingly wage a struggle against the anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet course of the Mao Tse-tung group and against its attempts to split the front of revolutionary forces. At the same time, as was noted at the Congress, the CPSU is coming out for a normalization of relations between the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic and for the restoration of good-neighborliness and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, for this accords with the fundamental interests of both countries and the interests of the struggle against imperialism and for the peace and freedom of peoples and for socialism.

In the Summary Report of the CC CPSU and in the speeches of the delegates to the Congress and its guests emphasis was put on the enormous importance for all of progressive mankind of the conclusions from a scientific analysis of present-day imperialism which were made previously in very important documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement. Life is again and again confirming that the reactionary and aggressive essence of imperialism has not changed; it has been and continues to be an enemy of the peoples and a suppressor of freedom. American imperialism which is striving to play the role of a kind of guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression is marked by an especially reactionary and aggressive character.

At the same time, present-day imperialism has its own special characteristics. They are showing up above all in its attempts to adapt itself to the new international conditions and the new balance of power which is increasingly changing in favor of socialism and progress. Fearing the development of the class struggle of the individual detachments of workers into a mass revolutionary movement, the bourgeoisie is trying to make use of more camouflaged forms of exploitation, is accepting partial reforms, and is resorting to social demagogy and mass repressions. The monopolies are trying to put the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the service of their interests. However, none of these measures can ensure the stabilization of capitalism as a system.

The general crisis of capitalism is continuing to deepen. Many developed capitalist countries and, above all, the United States, have found themselves in the grips of a new economic crisis. The crisis in the capitalist currency and financial system continues to be an acute one. Unemployment is continually increasing and has already reached the level of 8 million people in the developed capitalist countries. Millions upon millions of new people are rising up to struggle against imperialism. The number of strikers in the capitalist countries increased from 36 million in 1965 to 70 million in 1970. The present major actions by the working class are a herald of new class battles which may lead to fundamental social transformations.

In addition to the pressure from the workers of the capitalist states, imperialism is also being subjected to increasing pressure from the forces which have developed out of the national-liberation struggle and, above

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all, from the young independent anti-imperialist states of Asia and Africa. The struggle for national liberation has begun in effect to develop in many countries into a struggle against exploitation relations, both futile and capitalistic. Quite a few liberated countries have already begun to take a non-capitalist path of development and have adopted a course aimed at the construction in the future of a socialist society.

Success in the struggle against imperialism depends to a large extent upon the solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces and, first of all, of their vanguard—the world communist movement. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making great efforts to ensure this solidarity.

The foreign guests at the Congress gave high praise to the tireless and fruitful work of our party in the world communist movement. "In the spirit of Lenin's teachings" the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States Comrade Gus Hall emphasized in his welcoming address, "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is continuing to act as the most consistent force in the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement, for the unity of anti-imperialist forces, and for proletarian internationalism.***

Our party will continue to do everything to strengthen the solidarity and unity of communist ranks and will continue to wage a principled struggle from Marxist-Leninist positions against right and "left" revisionism and against nationalism which plays into the hands of imperialism. (Applause.)

As is noted in the Summary Report of the CC CPSU, on the whole in recent years the progressive forces led by the Soviet Union have succeeded in making marked gains against aggression and war. Important changes in Europe are in evidence. Soviet-French relations have improved and developed. A positive change has occurred in relations with the FRG a concrete expression of which was the conclusion of the Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties. The Treaty on the Non-Dissemination of Nuclear Weapons has come into effect; and treaties have been concluded prohibiting the placing of nuclear weapons in outer space and on the ocean and sea floors.

But for the time being the forces of aggression and war exist and the stubborn struggle by all peace-loving states and peoples for a firm peace continues.

The 24th CPSU Congress fully approved of the foreign policy course of our party which is finding profound understanding and ardent approval from all progressive mankind. (Applause.)

***"The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stenographic Report," Vol 1, p 416.

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Comrades! The further economic development of the country occupied a large place in the work of the Congress. As Vladimir Il'ich Lenin taught, the chief policy for our party and for the Soviet state is economic construction. Its successes to a decisive extent determine the well-being of the workers, the progressive movement of Soviet society toward communism, and the strengthening of the international positions of our socialist state and its contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process. The Congress totaled up the results of the road which has been covered in five years and adopted a magnificent program of economic development and for raising the standard of living for the people. The analysis of the special characteristics of the present stage of the country's economic development and the definition of the directions of our long-term economic policy contained in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and in the decisions of the Congress are an important new contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to the development of the methods of constructing communism. (Applause.)

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THE VITAL FORCE OF INTERNATIONALISM

D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (D. F. Ustinov: Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at the joint festive meeting of the Bashkir Obkom of the CPSU and the Supreme Soviet of the Bashkir ASSR marking the presentation to the republic of the Order of the Friendship of Peoples. 15 January 1974, pp 204-207]

[Excerpts] The successes of your republic are impressive. And we are all proud of them. But, following Lenin's behests and the demands of our party, even during days of festivities we have to not only talk about achievements, but also concentrate our attention on unsolved problems and on shortcomings in our work. The recently published Appeal by the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Party and to the Soviet People speaks with party directness about the fact that there are still quite a few lagging enterprises in the economy, that losses of raw materials and materials are permitted, and that the commissioning and mastery of new capacities is frequently delayed.

And in your republic also, comrades, there are serious shortcomings. Some enterprises have not fulfilled their plans for output products lists and labor productivity. In a number of branches of industry—the light, food, and local industries—there has been a slowing down of the growth rates of production and capital investments are not being made full use of.

I regard it as my duty to remind you that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Bashkiriya are in debt to the state with regard to the production and procurement of grain, sunflower seeds, potatoes, and foods.

It also has to be said that in recent years output per tractor and combine has been falling in the republic, labor expenditures per unit of the most important types of agricultural output have been increasing and the cost of this output has been going up.

At the rayon and city conferences which are now taking place, the first after the 24th CPSU Congress, communists are reacting strongly to these shortcomings and are planning measures to eliminate them. The conferences

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are showing the increased activeness and political maturity of our communists, the solidarity of the ranks of the oblast party organization around the Central Committee of the party, and the full and unanimous approval and support for its work to carry out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress in the field of domestic and foreign policy.

Permit me to express my confidence that the Bashkir party organization will continue to do everything to accomplish the great and responsible tasks which face our party.

Comrades! Our successes in economic and cultural construction are inseparably bound up with the consistent foreign political activities of the party to realize the Peace Program.

The peace offensive by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth is having a favorable influence on the international situation and is bearing real fruit.

In recent years a serious turn toward peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of international security has been achieved. The elimination of a number of military danger spots, the first steps toward a limitation of the arms race, a series of important international legal documents, and political consultations between states with different social systems-all of these are visible features of profound changes of the world. The task is to give this process a stable and irreversible character and to make the principles of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states a generally recognized norm of international relations.

The turn away from the "Cold War" to detente and from military confrontation to peaceful cooperation has become possible thanks to the general change in the balance of power on the world arena in favor of socialism, peace, and progress.

As you know, an important role in the achievement of these results was played by the visits of comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the United States, the FRG, France, and India. These visits and all of the foreign policy activities of our party have led to the fact that the international situation today is developing to a considerable extent under the influence of the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union.

Our country is waging the struggle to strengthen peace and security in close cooperation with the fraternal countries of socialism. We see our paramount internationalist duty in thoroughly strengthening the positions of world socialism, the unity of the states of the socialist commonwealth, and friendship and comprehensive cooperation with them. Of especial importance in this respect are the regular contacts between the leaders of the communist and the workers' parties of the fraternal countries, including the latest meeting in the Crimea. The forthcoming visit by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to Cuba follows the same goal.

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The Central Committee of the party is devoting a great deal of attention to the problems of economic cooperation with the socialist states. An improvement and intensification of our foreign economic relations with the fraternal countries on the basis of the Overall Program for Economic Integration and an increase in the effectiveness of these relations for the purpose of strengthening the economic foundation of world socialism is one of the key economic and foreign political tasks of the party which follows from the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The total commodity turnover of the Soviet Union with the socialist states has increased from 14.4 billion rubles in 1970 to approximately 18 billion rubles in 1973. Soviet deliveries almost entirely cover the import needs of the CEMA countries for petroleum and iron and cover 60 to 70 percent of them for petroleum products, rolled metal, and coal. The Soviet Union purchases around one-half of the machine building and industrial consumer goods exports of the CEMA countries.

At the April (1973) and December (1973) Plenums of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the importance of developing economic relations with the fraternal socialist states for the purpose of further progress by the economies of the entire socialist commonwealth, and also the necessity for following the path of integration more boldly and rapidly and more extensively. In this connection, the responsibility of all of our enterprises, associations, and scientific organizations for a precise fulfillment of our foreign economic commitments is becoming much greater.

Comrades! The present state of the economies in the capitalist countries is a sharp contrast to the consistent growth of the economies of the socialist countries and to the expansion and deepening of the relations between them. The capitalist countries have entered the new year in a situation of a sharp energy and currency crisis and an intensification of inflation. Production is being curtailed and mass dismissals are taking place in the steel, aircraft, textile, garment, and other branches of industry. And this means an increase in unemployment and greater uncertainty about tomorrow also for those who today have not yet lost their jobs. On 1 January prices again increased for foods and primary necessities in the United States, England, Japan, Holland, and other countries. I want to emphasize, comrades, that I am speaking about the most mass consumption goods whose increased costs is being reflected first of all in the budgets of the workers.

It is impossible not to see manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism in all of this. It is interesting that many western government leaders and economists have a very pessimistic view of the future today and are speaking about a new stagnation of production, while some of them are even predicting a recession covering the entire system of world capitalism. Under these conditions, the competitive struggle between the largest imperialist states and groups of these states is becoming especially intense and especially heated. At a recent session of the NATO Council

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things went as far as serious contradictions between the United States and its European allies.

Certain bourgeois politicians are seeking a way out of the contradictions which are rending the capitalist world through putting together new military groupings and through the arms race. The military budgets of the NATO countries increase by 2 to 3 billion dollars every year. The militarization of the economies of the imperialist states is strengthening the influence in them of the military-industrial complexes, not to mention the fact that the arms race is hindering a deepening of the relaxation of international tensions.

Another important process which is characteristic for the state of affairs in the capitalist world is a sharp intensification of the contradictions between the imperialist states and the developing countries which are playing an increasingly appreciable role in world politics. Basing themselves on the support of the USSR and of the entire socialist commonwealth, most of the developing countries are effectively opposing the policies of neo-colonialism and are waging a struggle against the dictatorship of the imperialist monopolies—both national and transnational monopolies—and for the right to manage their own resources by themselves and use them in the interests of the development of their national economies.

Very significant in this sense are the "petroleum sanctions" which were recently used by the Arab states. Let us say it frankly, several years ago such actions would have been frought with the danger of military intervention by imperialism. And the fact that today the western powers which are experiencing an acute petroleum shortage do not dare to do this is important. It speaks about the new balance of forces in the world which has changed and will continue to change to the detriment of imperialism.

Proceeding from the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Soviet Union is striving for the development of mutually advantageous equal economic and scientific and technical relations with the capitalist countries. Such relations are doing much to consolidate the positive changes which have occurred in international life. Scientific and technical and economic relations with the developed capitalist countries are also important for the purpose of making fuller use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution which is developing in the world and of the advantages of an international division of labor. The expansion of mutually advantageous economic relations between the USSR and France, the FRG, Japan, Italy, and a number of other states which has been achieved in recent years is an example of this.

We hope that the obstacles in the way of extensive cooperation between the USSR and the United States in the field of economics on an equal basis and without discrimination and restrictions will also be overcome.

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We may rightly experience satisfaction with the successful development in favor of socialism of the historic conflict of the two systems and a completely understandable pride due to the growth of the might and authority of our country and of its influence on the course of world events. However, the process of detente does not signify an end to the class struggle on the world arena which is testified to, in particular, by the intrigues of the frantic enemies of peace and socialism with whom the Peking leadership is showing increasingly close solidarity. The Maoists are pursuing a great power chauvinistic course which is hostile to the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the socialist commonwealth, the entire world communist movement, and the interests of the Chinese people itself.

All of this is taken into account by the Communist Party when it works out its foreign and domestic policies. The work of the Central Committee of our party in the international field and the titanic work which is being performed by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to realize the Peace Program which was put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress enjoy the universal gratitude of the Soviet people and extensive support from the peace-loving forces and from all of progressive mankind.

Comrades! The 4th year of the five-year plan has begun. In the national economic plan for 1974 which was approved by the December (1973) Plenum of the CC CPSU and adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet....

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP OF ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, in Russian, 1979

[From a report by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at the higher party school of the CC CPSU. 26 April 1974, pp 223-225

[Excerpts] One of the tasks of the sections is to make a deeper study of the positive experience in the struggle against violators of the law, to interpret it creatively, and to introduce it into life more actively. I have in mind here the necessity for collecting bit by bit and making wide use of everything that is good not only in one's own area, but also in other republics, krays, and oblasts. I think that the present courses will be very useful for you in this respect.

Comrades!

It is necessary to call your attention to certain questions in our work which are connected with measures of a defense character.

The consistent realization by our party of the Peace Program which was worked out by the 24th CPFJ Congress and the peace offensive by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth are having a favorable influence on the international climate. A tendency toward detente is the dominating feature of the development of the situation in the world.

However, detente has influential enemies in the imperialist camp with whom the Maoist leadership of China is joining up. They are doing everything to hinder the process of detente.

The complexity and contradictoriness of present-day international developments and the activization of the enemies of social progress, democracy, peace, and international security demand a strengthening of our vigilance and a readiness by us to reliably defend the gains of socialism. For this reason, the party, as in the past, is devoting the necessary attention to a further increase in the defensive capacity of the country and in the fighting strength of the Armed Forces. It can be said with full

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justification that there is not a single question connected with military construction which is not in the field of vision of the CC CPSU, the Politburo, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally.

The CC CPSU demands the same intense attention to the defense capacity of our state from local party agencies. There has already been a discussion at your courses of the practical questions in the work of the administrative body sections which concern the military-patriotic education of the population, the training of the youth for military service and civil defense, and the activities of DOSAAF. So as not to be repetitive, permit me to single out only the basic points which you have to consider in your work.

It has to always be kept in mind that the defense capacity of our state is determined not only by the fighting strength and combat readiness of our army and navy, but also by the level of the development of our economy, science, and culture, and by the patriotism of the Soviet people, its ideological convictions, political consciousness, vigilance, and constant readiness to defend the homeland.

At the same time, consideration must be given to the growing role of timely preparations by a state for possible military trials in the face of the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction. The entire population has to take the most active part in preparing for the defense and protection of facilities and itself from the destructive action of these weapons.

The vast majority of our local cadres show a feeling of great responsibility for the performance of defense measures. However, there are cases of a failure by individual persons, including leading ones, to understand the enormous state importance of such preparatory work during peacetime. Not everywhere are measures which have been planned put into practice on time and persistently. In some places, there are shortcomings in preparing the youth for military service, in the civil defense system, and in DOSAAF.

The party has always regarded and continues to regard the defense of the country of Soviets as the holy of holies. The defense of our socialist gains has always been and continues to be one of the most important duties of every Soviet person. This is why party and government agencies, public organizations, and leaders of all ranks have to devote unremitting attention to defense work. Party agencies have to ensure control over the fulfillment of the decrees of the party and government concerning the defense capacity of our state. Control is the most important thing which is being demanded from us in this very important work sector.

It is not possible, comrades, not to mention the necessity for increasing political vigilance. Under the conditions of detente the enemies of socialism are changing their tactics and the forms and methods of their subversive work and of the ideological struggle.

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We must not be comforted by the fact that there is no social base in the USSR for the carrying out of subversive activities. The enemies of socialism are not squeamish about using for this purpose all kinds of renegades, criminal elements, and morally unstable people. For this reason, it is necessary to constantly remember about political vigilance and to react sharply to all cases of carelessness and light-mindedness.

It has to be said that most of the party committees are successfully coping with the tasks they have been given in this sector. At the same time, it is not possible not to see serious shortcomings which are most of all connected with a weakening of vigilance.

Comrades! The range of tasks on which the administrative body sections of the party committees have to work is extremely broad and diverse. I repeat that it directly concerns the interest of all Soviet citizens. This again reminds us of the extremely great responsibility of the sections to the party committees for the accomplishment of the tasks they have been given. All of you know the demands of the December (1973) Plenum of the CC CPSU concerning an increased role for the apparatus of party bodies in controlling the execution of party decisions. Naturally, this makes it necessary to again and again critically analyze the work of the sections and to constantly seek ways to bring about their most effective influence on the state of affairs. Your studies have given you a great deal in this respect. It is important for everything you have received in your courses to be profoundly interpreted by you and realized in practical activity.

In conclusion, comrades, I want once again to speak about the remarkable labor and political enthusiasm of the Soviet people and of the monolithic solidarity of our workers around their Leninist party and its Central Committee. This has been vividly demonstrated by the report and election party conferences which have taken place—the first since the 24th CPSU Congress. They were characterized by a spirit of high exactingness by the communists with regard to their work in the light of the tasks posed in the decisions of the December Plenum of the CC CPSU and in the speech at the Plenum by the General Secretary of the CC of our party, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The conferences demonstrated the increased activeness and political maturity of the communists and their unanimous approval of and support for the work of the CC CPSU and the foreign and domestic policies worked out by the 24th Party Congress.

The speeches by comrade L. I. Brezhnev in Alma-Ata and at the 17th Congress of the komsomol gave rise to a new wave of political and labor activity on the part of the entire people. The tasks which were put forward in them have received the unanimous approval of the party and of the entire Soviet people. This is testified to by the great political activity of our workers which is manifesting itself during the course of a very important political campaign which is now unfolding—the preparations for and holding of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

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We have before us a great deal of difficult and responsible work. Our Leninist Party profoundly believes in the great creative energy of our people which is capable of overcoming any difficulties in the way of its goal. And our goals and noble and humane ones: the flourishing of our homeland and the well-being and happiness of all Soviet people.

In a few days millions of our workers will come out for our holiday 1st of May demonstrations and will make labor reports to the homeland, expressing a single will to realize the historic decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

You are returning to your places on the eve of 1 May. Permit me, dear comrades, to congratulate you on the coming international holiday of 1 May and to wish you great success in your work and happiness in your lives.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's report was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause)

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THE PARTY'S CAUSE, THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the voters of the Leninskiy election district of the city of Izhevsk in connection with the elections to the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. 30 May 1974, pp 241-243]

[Excerpts] The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States which was held in April became a new step in the strengthening of the unity of action of the socialist countries on the international arena.

In an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cooperation the conference participants discussed the problems of a further relaxation of international tensions. A constructive basis was worked out at the meeting in Warsaw for the successful completion of the preparations for the concluding phase of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

The Warsaw Conference adopted the declaration, "For a Firm and Just Peace in the Near East," in which the socialist countries expressed themselves with all resoluteness in support of the just cause of the Arab peoples and for an immediate elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression.

The statement by the Warsaw Conference on the Vietnamese question was especially important and timely in connection with the fact that the Saigon clique is continuing to violate the Paris agreements on a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. The statement takes full account of the national aspirations of the Vietnamese people and of the interests of peace and calm in Southeast Asia.

All of the democratic forces of the world heard the appeal of the Political Consultative Committee: "Put an End to the Arbitrary Rule and Persecution of Democrats in Chile!"

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The documents adopted by the Warsaw Conference speak of the complete solidarity of the countries of the socialist commonwealth with the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The results of the conference are of outstanding importance for a further strengthening of the solidarity of the socialist commonwealth and for the struggle for peace, national independence, and democracy and socialism.

Comrades I

As a result of the active foreign political work of the CPSU, relations between the Soviet Union and a number of very large capitalist countries have improved. Regular contacts between the leaders of the socialist and capitalist states on questions of mutual interest have become a new phenomenon in international political life. The visits by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the United States, FRG, and France, the negotiations held by him, and the treaties and agreements signed by him were of especially great importance for organizing mutually advantageous international cooperation.

At the present time, there are more than 90 long-term agreements on cooperation in the fields of economics, science, and technology between the socialist and capitalist countries. Major projects in scientific and technical and economic cooperation are being worked out and are beginning to be realized. Cultural relations are developing and trade is expanding.

All of this testifies to the fact that the tendencies toward detente are becoming a dominating feature of the development of the situation on the European continent and in the entire world.

At the same time, it cannot but be seen that the enemies of an improvement of the international climate and the champions of the "Cold War" have not put down their arms and are trying to oppose the process of detente and to hold back this process which accords with the aspirations of the peoples. The militaristic circles of the NATO countries are continuing to increase military budgets and are striving to create difficulties for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the capitalist and socialist countries.

The Maoist leadership of China is in the same camp as the champions of the "Cold War." Peking's present policy is an aggressive policy which is aimed against a relaxation of international tensions and against the Soviet Union and at undermining the positions of world socialism and of the national-liberation movement. The USSR has favored and continues to favor normal relations with China, but this requires a mutual desire on both sides, and, unfortunately, this desire does not exist on the part of the Peking leadership.

The activization of the enemies of social progress, democracy, and peace and international security requires an intensification of our vigilance

and a strengthening of the defense capacity of the Soviet state and of the entire socialist commonwealth. Our policy of peaceful coexistence and detente, of a constructive solution of international problems by means of negotiations, and of a struggle to make the positive changes in the world irreversible is invariably combined with a firm rebuff of aggression and with resolute support for the peoples who are struggling for freedom and independence and against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. This policy which is being pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a generally socialist and internationalist policy.

The entire course of events on the international arena shows clearly that with the support of the socialist countries, the world communist movement, and all of the progressive and peace-loving forces of the planet, the freedom loving peoples are capable under present conditions of opposing the pressure and aggression of imperialism. And not only opposing it, but also of victoriously struggling against imperialist reaction, both foreign and domestic. The winning of state independence by the people of Bangladesh, the successful rebuff to Israeli aggression by the Arab countries in October of last year, and the overthrowing of the fascist regime in Portugal are the latest graphic examples of this.

We shall continue to strengthen our solidarity with the world communist, workers', and national-liberation movements, with all of the progressive and peace-loving forces of the planet, with all of our friends and allies in the joint struggle against imperialism and for a just democratic world and for friendship between peoples.

The Soviet Union has been and remains in the front lines of the struggle to defend the interests of mankind. It will always be faithful to the great cause of the international unity of the fighters for the freedom of peoples, for socialism, and for a durable peace in the world.

All of our successes in economic and cultural construction, in improving the public welfare, and in realizing remarkable achievements on the international arena are the result of the heroic labor of the Soviet people and the result of the Leninist policy of our Communist Party and the many-sided and purposeful work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo of the CC, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The workers of our country have unanimously named Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as the people's candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. His tireless constructive work, far-sightedness and sense of principle, his concern for people, and his persistent struggle for peace have won universal recognition and love and respect.

Comrades!

Our country is on the eve of a great and important political event--the elections to the supreme agency of state power in the USSR. The Soviet

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people have arrived at this event as a single harmonious multi-national family which is closely united around its Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee.

On 16 June Soviet people will go the polling booths with profound faith in their party and in its policy and with great patriotic pride in the enormous achievements of our country in order to vote for the representatives of the life-tested block of communists and non-party people. On that day Soviet people will vote for the realization of the party's decisions, for a further strengthening of the economic might and defense capacity of our homeland, for the consolidation of peace in the entire world, and for the unity and inseparable connection of our party and people.

In concluding my speech, I want to wish you, dear comrades, great success in your work and happiness in your personal lives.

I once again express my sincere gratitude to all of the voters for the great trust they have shown in me and assure them that I will give all of my strength to serve our Soviet people, our party, and the great cause of the construction of a communist society.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

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STRENGTHEN THE MIGHT OF THE FATHERLAND WITH LABOR

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with voters of the Kovrovskiy election district in connection with elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. 30 May 1975, pp 270-273]

[Excerpts] There are still, of course, many difficulties and unsolved problems in the work to accelerate scientific and technological progress and, for this reason, it requires the daily attention and persistence of party and economic agencies and of all leaders and specialists.

Comrades!

During the years which have passed since the previous elections to the Supreme Soviets of the union republics and to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies there has been a further strengthening of our multinational state and an equalization of the classes and social groups which comprise our society. The process of eliminating essential differences between intellectual and physical labor and between town and country is progressing more and more actively.

Progress along the path of the construction of communism is inseparable from a further comprehensive development of socialist democracy and a steady increase in the role of the Soviets as agencies of people's power in the economic, social, and cultural development of the country. Soviet law is being improved. In recent years the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted legislation which regulates such important problems as labor relations, an improvement of health protection for the workers, a strengthening of the family, a rational use of national resources, and others.

In accordance with the decision of the 24th CPSU Congress, a law has been adopted on the status of deputies which is promoting a further increase in the role of the Soviets.

Comrades!

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The major successes which have been achieved by the Soviet people in communist construction and the increased economic and defense might of the USSR are serving as a solid foundation for an active foreign policy by our party and state.

In recent years the foreign policy course of the 24th Party Congress and the Peace Program which was worked out by it have been successfully realized. During this period the international situation has changed greatly. A turnaway from the "Cold War" toward detente and the peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems has been achieved.

These changes became possible thanks to a fundamental change in the balance of power in the world in favor of socialism. The April (1975) Plenum of the CC CPSU emphasized that the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth in the fields of economics and defense, and the unity of the fraternal states and coordination of their actions and their consistency and sense of principle in defending peace and the fundamental interests of the peoples make up the basis of the outstanding successes of socialist foreign policy.

The international positions of the socialist commonwealth have never been as strong as they are now. Its authority in the eyes of the peoples of the world is unprecedentedly great. For two decades now the Warsaw Pact has been playing a truly historical role: it is an effective instrument of political cooperation and of the development of a coordinated foreign policy course by the socialist states and it is a reliable guard over their security.

The economic integration of the socialist countries within the CEMA is developing successfully. In accordance with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, our Leninist Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the CC are pursuing a line aimed at a further strengthening of the socialist commonwealth, the development of allied relations with the fraternal countries, and the coordination of our joint activities aimed at achieving new successes in the struggle for peace and for a strengthening of the positions of socialism on the international arena.

The possibilities for strengthening peace in Europe are becoming increasingly clear. The All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation is nearing its conclusion. Negotiations are continuing on decreasing the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. There has been a substantial activization of mutually advantageous economic and scientific and technical relations between the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of socialism and the capitalist states of Western Europe.

An improvement of relations between our country and the largest capitalist state--the United States--and also with France, the FRG, and England is of great importance for improving the international climate.

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The visits by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the fraternal socialist countries and also to India, the United States, France, and the FRG, and his meetings and negotiations with foreign statesmen and politicians have played an exceptional role in the process of detente.

The Soviet Union is struggling for the elimination of a danger spot of international tensions in the Near East. The only way to settle the conflict is the liberation of the Arab lands which have been seized by Israel, the protection of the legal rights of the Palestinian people, and the achievement of guarantees for the independent existence and development of all of the states of this region.

Recently the position of the progressive forces which are struggling for a revolutionary transformation of the planet has grown stronger. This convincingly proves that peaceful coexistence favors an expansion and deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies. The front of anti-imperialist actions is widening in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The reactionary dictatorship in Greece has collapsed. The democratic anti-fascist revolution in Portugal is developing successfully.

The calculations of the aggressive forces of imperialism regarding local wars against peoples which are waging the national-liberation struggle have proven to be doomed to failure. The historic victories of the courageous patriots of South Vietnam and of the entire fraternal Vietnamese people are a vivid example of this.

They have been welcomed with great happiness by the peoples of the socialist countries and by all progressive mankind.

A powerful increase in class battles is taking place in the basic capitalist countries. In 1947 the number of strikers reached 47 million people.

Comrades !

The Apr:1 (1975) Plenum of the CC CPSU fully approved of the practical work of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the party led by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in realizing the Peace Program. Our party's Leninist foreign policy is ardently and unanimously supported by the entire Soviet people and it is shared and supported by all of progressive mankind. (Applause.)

The communist parties and peoples of the fraternal countries will continue to struggle to see to it that the relaxation of tensions is spread to all of the regions of the world. We are resolutely in favor of having the right of all peoples to a free and independent development be triumphant in international relations.

In this connection, mention has to be made of the fact that the forces which are striving to weaken the tendency toward detente and to stop the movement of the peoples toward a solid peace are still active. These reactionary forces are being joined by the Maoist leadership of China which is conducting an unrestrained slanderous campaign against the USSR and the other socialist countries, is fighting for a strengthening of the imperialist blocks, and is urging the capitalist countries on to increase the arms race.

The Soviet state has constantly been in favor of a normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. This would undoubtedly accord with the fundamental interest of the Chinese people itself.

The constructive work of the Soviet people which is building communism and its selfless labor aimed at the development of the country's economy and culture and the strengthening of its defense is of paramount importance in the struggle to preserve and strengthen the peace and to make the relaxation of international tensions stable and durable and to give it an irreversible character.

All of our achievements in economic and cultural construction, in raising the material and cultural levels of the workers, and in our remarkable successes on the international arena are an embodiment of the results of the heroic labor of the Soviet people and of the many-sided and purposeful work of the Communist Party, its Central Committee, the Politburo of the CC, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades!

Soviet workers will go the polling booths with a profound faith in the party and its policies, with great patriotic pride in the enormous successes of our people, and with a clear understanding of their next tasks in order to give their votes to the candidates of the indestructible block of communists and non-party members, thereby expressing their continued readiness to work successfully on behalf of the triumph of communism and peace on our planet.

In concluding my speech, I want to wish you all, dear comrades, good health, great successes in your work, and happiness in your personal lives. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

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SELFLESS SERVICE FOR THE PARTY, HOMELAND, PEOPLE

D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a reception in honor of Military Academy graduates in the Kremlin. 30 June 1976, pp 274-277]

[Text] Dear comrades!

It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that we are honoring today a new detachment of officers who have successfully graduated from our military academies. Permit me to sincerely congratulate you, comrades, on this happy event.

We also offer our greetings and our congratulations to the officers of the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact states on their successful completion of their studies in Soviet military educational institutions.

It gives me great pleasure to carry out a commission from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and give you his sincere greetings and warm congratulations and wishes for creative success in your work. Leonid Il'ich gives an exceptional amount of attention to the strengthening of the defense capacity of the Soviet state, to the development of our armed forces, to supplying them with first-class combat equipment, and to increasing their combat readiness. He shows great daily concern about our officer cadres and about their training and education.

The award to him of the high military title of Marshall of the Soviet Union was a token of the recognition by all of the people of the outstanding services of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council on Defense Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. This event was greeted with enormous inspiration by all Soviet people and by all of the soldiers of our glorious armed forces. We wish Leonid Il'ich good health and great successes in his work for the good of our homeland.

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Comrade graduates!

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You are setting off for units and ships at an important time when Soviet people, inspired by the decisions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress, are working with unprecedented enthusiasm to accomplish the tremendous tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The soldiers of our Army and Navy are replying to the decisions of the Congress with new successes in combat and political training. The Congress once again demonstrated the indestructible unity of the party and the people and the triumph of communist ideas. The workers of our country and the soldiers of the Soviet armed forces ardently approve of the titanic work of the party, its Central Committee, its Politburo, and of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally.

Thanks to the wise Leninist policy of our party, in recent years substantial progress has been achieved in the struggle for a relaxation of international tensions. The CPSU is not sparing efforts to realize its Program for a further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of peoples.

The Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties which opened yesterday in Berlin is raising high the banner of the unity of European communists.

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the conference was listened to by its participants with enormous attention. The speech of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party contained a profound and comprehensive analysis of the situation in Europe and in the entire world, it mapped out the main problems facing the peoples of this continent in the struggle for the kind of Europe which would cease being a source of the most bloody wars in history, and it demonstrated the enormous struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet government for a halt to the arms race and the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence on our continent.

"True to the great ideas of proletarian internationalism," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said at the Conference, "our party has never separated the fate of the Soviet country from the fate of other countries in Europe and in the entire world. Both the foreign policy of the USSR which is aimed at strengthening the peace and freedom of the peoples and our domestic policy which has as its goal the construction of communism accords not only with the fundamental interests of the Soviet peoples, but is, and we are convinced of this, our contribution to the common struggle of the communists of the entire world for a better future for mankind."*

However, as the 25th Party Congress noted, world peace is as yet by no means guaranteed. Militarist circles are continuing the arms race, and

*L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 6, p 58.

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the threat of war continues. For this reason, our primary tasks remain a further strengthening of the defense capacity of the country, a thorough increase in the vigilance and combat readiness of the Army and Navy, and a strengthening of the fighting alliance of the Warsaw Pact states.

Comrades!

In his speech at the 25th CPSU Congress, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev gave a vivid characterization of the modern leader as a person who has to organically unite in himself partiynost' and a profound competence, and discipline and initiative and a creative approach to work. At any sector, a leader is obliged to take account of socio-political and educational aspects, to be sensitive to people and their needs, and to serve as an example in his work and in his life.

Allow me to express my firm confidence in the fact that you will firmly follow these instructions of the party, that you will look upon all of the phenomena of life from class positions, that you will give all of your knowledge and energy to the accomplishment of the tasks set for the forces, and that you will evaluate the results of your work strictly and critically and always measure every one of your practical steps against the demands of the party.

The vast majority of the graduates of our academies are communists. We are confident that when you come into the Army and the Navy you will show yourselves in your practical work to be genuine fighters for the party, and not only good specialists, but also skillful organizers and educators of the masses.

Soviet people are not sparing their strength or resources to supply the Army and Navy with modern weapons and combat equipment. They feel a passionate love for their army and are confident that it is reliably protecting our socialist gains. There is no doubt that the glorious armed forces will continue to worthily accomplish the responsible tasks which have been given to them—to be a sentry for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace.

During the period of your studies in the academies you worked a great deal and fruitfully and acquired and consolidated new knowledge in all of the fields of military affairs. But graduation from an academy is only one of the steps on the way to the heights of military mastery. There is quite a distance between knowledge and ability. We hope that in your new and more difficult stage of service-independent practical work-you will continue to persistently master the art of managing the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy, successfully overcome difficulties, show intelligent initiative, and raise your ideological-political and military-theoretical levels. We are confident that you will make your own important contribution to improving the quality of combat and political training and to strengthening the military discipline and combat readiness of the forces.

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No matter how terrible and perfected a weapon may be, the outcome of a battle, operation, or a war as a whole is determined in the final analysis by people. For this reason, regardless of the specialty you have received in the academy, each of you has to constantly study on his own, work painstakingly with his subordinates, train and educate them, and show fatherly concern for them.

We celebrate every graduating class from our military academies as a holiday not only for the officers who have completed their studies, but also for the entire administration and faculty of the military educational institutions. With all our heart we congratulate the commanders, political workers, and teachers with this great event and express our thanks to them for their difficult but honorable labor. We are confident that our higher military school will continue with equal success to accomplish the responsible tasks of training the Officer Corps of the Armed Forces which have been given to them.

Comrades!

Permit me to assure the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally that the graduates of our military academies will honorably justify the high trust of the party and people and make a worthy contribution to the fuller strengthening of the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces and of all of the armies of the socialist commonwealth.

I wish you good military careers, dear comrades! I wish you good health and optimism, inexhaustible energy and great successes in your honorable and noble military work!

Long live the great Soviet people--the builder of communism!

Long live the valorous USSR Armed Forces--a reliable sentry for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace!

May the fraternal alliance of the peoples of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and of their armies grow stronger!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the leading and directing force of Soviet society!

(The reception took place in a warm and sincere atmosphere. Its participants accepted the greetings of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers with enormous enthusiasm. The speech by Comrade D. F. Ustinov was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause.)

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PARTY-POLITICAL WORK IN THE ARMY AND NAVY--AT THE LEVEL OF THE DEMANDS OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS

D.F. USTINOV, IABRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a scientific practical conference of the leading workers of the political agencies of the Army and Navy. 7 July 1976, pp 278-291]

[Text] Comrades!

First of all, permit me to carry out an honorable commission—to convey to you from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev his sincere greetings and wishes for your great successes in the important and noble work of training and educating the personnel of the Armed Forces. (Applause.) From his life and military experience Leonid Il'ich knows very well and greatly appreciates the work of the political workers of our Army and Navy—the fighting detachment of the party in the Armed Forces, tireless transmitters of its policies, and the mentors and educators of Soviet soldiers. (Applause.)

Comrades!

Our party and the entire Soviet people is now living and working under the inspiring influence of the ideas and decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The Congress summarized results of the world historical accomplishments of our people and pointed out the ways for the further development of the country, the ways for the victorious construction of a communist society. These results and the new prospects fill the heart of every Soviet person with a feeling of great pride for the Leninist party, wise and far-sighted, which is leading our people on the road of the first arrivals to the triumph of communism.

Today there are great and difficult tasks facing all of the workers of our homeland, the workers of industry, agriculture, transportation, communications, construction, and science and culture, and the soldiers of the Army and Navy. It is the duty of every Soviet person to actively participate in

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their accomplishment and to perform the work he has been given with maximum effort and with the greatest yield. And this requires a profound study of the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, an interpretation of the character and content of the task set by it, thought about the significance of the work being accomplished, and the ability to combine one's own work with the tremendous people's efforts during the course of communist construction in our country and with the development of the entire world revolutionary process.

The political workers of the Army and Navy must also profoundly interpret their work and their tasks and the future prospects. Our conference which is devoted to the problems of party construction in the Army and Navy in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress is one of the important measures which are being carried out toward this end in the Armed Forces. It has the task of promoting a further improvement of party-political work and of the work of political agencies and party organizations. And since party construction in the Army and Navy is an inseparable part of the party's overall work, we should be guided unswervingly in all of our practical work by the decisions of the Congress and by the theses and conclusions of the Summary Report of the CC CPSU to the Congress and put them into practice with all of our party passion and persistence.

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union graphically demonstrated to the entire world the gigantic dimensions and depth of the revolutionary constructive accomplishments of the Soviet people. During the five years which have passed since the 25th CPSU Congress our country has achieved remarkable new frontiers in the creation of the material and technical base of communism, in raising the standard of living of the people, and in strengthening the defense capacity of our state. With respect to the absolute increase in industrial output, the growth of the country's economic might, and the scope of the accomplishment of the tasks of raising the standard of living of the people, the 9th Five-Year Plan has no equals.

True to Lenin's behests, the party is unswervingly pursuing a socio-economic policy aimed at a further improvement of the well-being of Soviet people, an improvement of their working and living conditions, and substantial progress in health care, education, and culture, and at the realization of everything that promotes the formation of a new man, the comprehensive development of the individual, and the perfection of the socialist way of life.

The construction in our country of a developed socialist society the like of which mankind has never known is of world historical importance.

As the productive forces and the economic potential of our state grow, the social structure of our society improves. There has been a greater strengthening of the ideological-political unity of Soviet people who are united around their native Communist Party and of the indestructible commonwealth

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of the peoples of our multi-national homeland. The leading and directing role of the CPSU is growing constantly, and the influence of the working class in all spheres of life is growing and becoming stronger. Today the strong alliance which has been tested in severe trials of all of the workers of our country, an alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia, of the workers of physical and intellectual labor, is strong and indestructible as never before!

During the past five years changes of enormous importance have occurred on the world arena. The Communist Party and the Soviet state have achieved major successes in realizing their Leninist peace-loving foreign policy course and in realizing the Peace Program which was worked out by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Thanks to the active and purposeful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, an historic shift has occurred from the "Cold War" to a relaxation of tensions which has become a leading tendency in international relations. Imperialism has been compelled to retreat from the policy of brinkmanship and from the policy of unconcealed threats and nuclear blackmail.

These favorable phenomena are not some kind of miracle. They are connected above all with a change in the balance of power on the world arena in favor of peace, progress, and socialism. The socialist commonwealth has now become the most dynamic economic force in the world, while the capitalist states are experiencing an acute economic crisis. With each passing day there is a strengthening of the political, economic, and ideological cooperation of the fraternal countries of socialism whose foundation is the indestructible fighting alliance of their Communist Parties.

The fraternal socialist countries are successfully realizing a long-term program of socialist economic integration. The military and political alliance of the Warsaw Pact countries is reliably serving the interests of peace and socialism.

True to the sacred principles of proletarian internationalism, Soviet people are giving comprehensive support to the peoples who are struggling for freedom and national independence and against imperialist aggression and neo-colonialism. We are proud of our fraternal help to the heroic people of Vietnam in its struggle of many years which has been concluded with a full victory and the defeat of the aggressor and has been crowned with the unification of the country and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The strivings of millions of people to throw off the yoke of colonialism, to acquire independence, and to build a new and free life--is an insuperable phenomenon of the present day. The proof of this is the victories which have been won by the peoples of Laos, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bisque, and the Green Cape Islands, and many other facts.

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Comrades 1

The 25th CPSU Congress signified a new frontier in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state and in the development of socialist society on its way to communism. It confirmed that the party is following a correct Leninist course and is worthily fulfilling its role of the political leader of the working class and of our entire people. (Applause.)

Unanimously approved by the Congress, and met with enthusiasm by the entire Soviet people, the Summary Report of the Central Committee of the party which was made by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is a major contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. At the center of the party's policies is concern for the welfare of the people and for a rich and happy life for Soviet people. The party's economic strategy which was worked out by the Congress serves this lofty goal. It provides for a dynamic and proportional development of social production, an increase in its efficiency, an acceleration of scientific and technological progress, an increase in labor productivity, and a comprehensive improvement of the quality of work in all of the elements of the economy, including economic management. The task has been set of turning agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy and seeing to it, first, that all of its branches are highly efficient and, secondly, that the material and cultural living conditions of town and country become more equal.

The Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the party's ideological-educational work. It pointed out that the improvement of the material well-being of Soviet people must constantly be accompanied by a rise in their ideological-moral and cultural levels. And the CPSU is doing every-thing possible for the formation of the new man-a worthy citizen of the USSA and active builder of communism. The way to increase the effectiveness of educational work is an overall approach to the organization of this work, that is, the achievement of a close unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral education with regard to the special characteristics of the various groups of workers. It is necessary to develop in people an active life position and a conscious attitude toward their social duty, in which the daily norm of life becomes the unity of words and deeds. All of these theses in the Summary Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Party Congress have a direct and immediate relationship to political-educational work in the Army and Navy.

Comrades! The ideas of the Congress and the decisions adopted by it are inspiring our great people to new labor feats and to tremendous new accomplishments. There is no higher honor for any Soviet person than the realization of the party's plans. The enormous self-sacrificing constructive labor of millions of Soviet people which began with the first days of the 10th Five-Year Plan convincingly testifies to the fact that everything that has been planned by the party will be realized in life!

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In response to an appeal by advanced workers' collectives, a national socialist competition has begun in the country for increasing production efficiency and improving the quality of work and for the successful fulfillment of the 1976 economic plan. According to preliminary data, industry has achieved the assignment of the first half year by 102 percent.

Our agricultural workers are actively struggling for a big harvest in the difficult weather conditions of this year. In a number of areas of the country our grain growers have already begun the mass sale of grain to the state. They are being helped by the entire country—by equipment, transportation, and cadres. And, as in past years, the soldiers of our Armed Forces are not standing aloof from this truly all-people's struggle for the harvest. They regard participation in a 1976 harvest as their patriotic duty.

The launching of the spaceship "Soyuz-21" with the Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel Boris Valentinovich Voloynov and Lieutenant Colonel Vitaliy Mikhay-lovich Zholobov aboard is a new proof of the outstanding achievements of Soviet science and technology and of our entire people. Like all Soviet people, we have no doubt that our glorious astronauts will honorably carry out their assignments and thereby increase the glory of our socialist homeland. (Applause.)

Comrades! Only a few months have passed since the end of the 25th CPSU Congress, and we are all already witnesses to the great activity, consistency, and far-sightedness with which the CC CPSU and the Soviet government are realizing the Program for a further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of peoples which was mapped out by the 25th Congress. The conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty "On Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes," the visits to the Soviet Union of the leaders of a number of countries, and also the foreign trips of Soviet leaders should be counted among the important events in this field.

The influence of the socialist states on the course of world development is becoming increasingly strong and profound, and the working class of the capitalist countries is becoming more active.

The Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties which took place very recently in Berlin was a major event in the history of the communist movement which had great international significance. The speech by the head of the delegation of the CPSU, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev had an enormous resonance in all of the countries of the world. In it he provided a profound analysis of the current situation in Europe and in the entire world, revealed the main problems in the struggle for turning Europe into a continent of peace, demonstrated the persistent and purposeful work of the CC CPSU and Soviet state aimed at halting the arms race, strengthening detente, and developing international cooperation, and emphasized the constant importance of the international solidarity of

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the communist and workers' parties. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev assured the participants in the conference that our party would not weaken its efforts in the struggle for peace and security.

The Berlin conference raised high the banner of the unity and solidarity of our fraternal parties and demonstrated their readiness to make a contribution to the common cause of the struggle for the achievement of these noble goals. It clearly pointed out the chief revolutionary forces of the present day—the racialist states, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement—which are capable, along with all democratic peace loving forces, of overcoming the resistance of reaction and preventing a new world war.

However, the successes of detente which have pushed back the direct threat of a nuclear clash have not yet become sufficiently strong to guarantee peace against possible provocations by the most aggressive and reactionary imperialist circles. For the nature of imperialism has not changed. It has not lost its aggressive essence and is not voluntarily surrendering its positions, but, on the contrary, is attempting to move into counterattacks. This is testified to by the events in Chile, in the Near East, by the situation in Cypress, by the periodic emergence of conflicts in other areas of the world, and by the constant increase in military budgets and the arms race in the imperialist states.

Imperialist reaction is everywhere attempting to place barriers in the way of the security and cooperation of countries with different social systems. There is a direct threat to peace in the concentration on the European continent of very large groupings of NATO armed forces, in the accumulation by the member countries of this aggressive block of enormous stocks of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the crude pressure and intervention in the internal affairs of other states, and in the endeavor by certain imperialist circles to renew an atmosphere of tension and confrontation in inter-state relations and again return to the policy of the "Cold War."

Under these conditions, our party regards it as its sacred duty to continue with redoubled energy to pursue a policy of restraining the forces of war and aggression and of strengthening world peace. It has done and will continue to do everything necessary for a further strengthening of the defense capacity of the Soviet state and of the entire socialist commonwealth.

The party, its Central Committee, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev are constantly working on a strengthening of our country's defense. Every day we, military people, feel the firm direction and guiding role of the Communist Party in the Armed Forces. Our duty is to cherish the attention and concern of the CPS. for strengthening the Army and Navy and to respond to this with selfless devotion to the party and people and with self-sacrificing military labor. (Applause.)

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Comradea! Today's speech is for me, in essence, my first meeting with the leading political personnel of the Army and Navy. Making use of this opportunity, I would like to touch upon certain problems of party-political work in the Armed Forces which, in my opinion, deserve our common attention.

In order to evaluate the role and importance of party-political work in the Army and Navy and to define its chief directions we have to fully imagine to ourselves the place that is occupied by the Soviet Armed Forces in the life of the country, in its history, and in the spiritual world of Soviet man. It is a special and honorable place, comrades. Not a single army has ever achieved anything like it.

The Soviet Army which was given birth to by Great October to defend the young Republic of Soviets and to defend the just cause of the workers and peasants has been and remains the flesh and blood of our people. It covered itself with undying glory during the years of the Civil War and of the struggle with the imperialist Intervention and gained immortality through the heroism of millions of its soldiers, commanders, and political workers during the Great Patriotic War.

Our Army enjoys the complete trust and sincere love of our people. For Soviet people service in it is to the highest degree a useful and fruitful school of courage, a school for acquiring lofty moral qualities. and a school of expertise. The Army raises patriots of our Soviet homeland in its ranks. This is why in the Summary Report of the Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave high praise to our Army as an educational school.

Comrades, we should be proud of such praise. But it also obliges us to do a great deal and, first of all, it obliges us to organize all of our party-political work in such a way that it produces a maximum effect and ensures high combat readiness for all of the branches of the Armed Forces.

It was correctly said here that the organization of propaganda and of a profound study of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress by all of our servicemen and their realization are now the central task of the military councils, the commanders, the political agencies, and the party organizations. This work has been widely developed in the Armed Forces. All of our best cadres, beginning with the leadership personnel of the central apparatus, the districts, the groups of forces, and our fleets have to be enlisted in it. More effective use has to be made of our cadres of experienced propagandists, of the entire system of political training and party education, of the broad network of ideological institutions, the military press, and of the other means of mass information.

Especial attention has to be devoted to an explanation to all of the personnel of the evaluations which were made by the party Congress of the fundamental problems of international relations, the current political

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situation, and the sources of military danger, and also to unmasking the intrigues of imperialism and the anti-Soviet actions of Maoism. I would name a concern that every soldier have a deep awareness of his personal responsibility for the high combat readiness of our Armed Forces during the present period as the heart of all of the propaganda of the materials of the 25th Party Congress in the Army and Navy.

It has to be taken into account, comrades, that our propaganda work will yield the best results if the explanation of the decisions of the Congress and the realization of the tasks set by it become a single unbroken process. In this connection, it is necessary to consider some concrete questions which follow from the instructions of the Congress.

The summer combat training is now in full swing in the forces. During the winter period the combat and political training plans were successfully fulfilled and an improvement was achieved in field, air, and sea training.

The tasks of the summer period are much more difficult; but they are realistic tasks and they have to be accomplished with higher quality. The most important thing is to constantly improve the combat readiness of the units and ships, to improve their tactical and special training, and to shorten the periods needed for making the forces ready to accomplish combat missions under difficult conditions. We will cope with this the more successfully, the more persistently we carry out the instruction of the 25th Party Congress concerning an improvement in the efficiency and quality of all of our work.

It is necessary to achieve the kind of level of training for the forces in which every soldier has a perfect mastery of modern weapons and combat equipment. The great leader of the revolution V. I. Lenin noted that in war "he who has the greatest equipment, organization, discipline, and the best machines gets the upper hand...."* And the party takes constant account of this thesis.

During the time between the 24th and the 25th CPSU Congresses our Army and Navy received improved weapons models which in their combat and operational characteristics accord the most modern demands. This was made possible thanks to the self-sacrificing labor and skill of our working class and the technical daring and talent of our designers, scientists, engineers and technicians, and all of the workers of our defense industry.

The successes of our domestic science and technology in military affairs, as in all of the spheres of our life, are of enormous importance. But equipment by itself does not determine a high level of combat readiness in the Armed Forces. It is also essential to see to it that it is studied deeply and mastered by all of the personnel and that it is used skillfully

*V. I. Lenin "Complete Works," Vol 36, p 116.

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and without accidents. Our advantage has always been and continues to be an advantage of the ideynost' and consciousness of our people, of their high socialist patriotism, and also of their excellent training. We must continue to maintain this advantage for ourselves.

In this connection, I would like to call attention to the impermissibility of any indulgences or simplifications which, unfortunately, still exist in combat training in individual units. There has to be a resolute struggle against these shortcomings. The kind of situation has to be created at every exercise which requires maximum efforts from every trainee, and the full use of the combat possibilities of weapons and combat equipment. We have to be even more persistent in cultivating in every soldier an understanding of the great importance of combat training under difficult conditions, keeping in mind the unchanging truth that the more difficult it is in training, the easier it is in battle.

More attention has to be given to a further strengthening of military discipline and to the maintenance of strict order in accordance with the regulations in the subunits, units, and on ships. It is not necessary to prove that a high level of discipline is the basis of the combat training of the Armed Forces. It is not without reason that it is called the mother of victory. Discipline unifies people, increases their strength tenfold, and helps them to reach their goal more rapidly, with smaller losses. And, on the contrary, a lack of discipline engenders disorder, disorganization, and in war leads to unnecessary losses and to defeat.

Today, when the Army and Navy are equipped with complex weapons systems, the slightest manifestation of carelessness and lack of discipline even by an individual serviceman can lead to severe consequences.

What must we take into account in organizing party-political work under present conditions?

First of all, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that the Armed Forces now are receiving the kind of youth which in the level of its development, literacy, and diversity of interests is higher than its predecessors. At the same time, it cannot but be considered that a considerable number of the young people are called into Army directly from school and that it is not easy for them to overcome the hardships of military labor. Moreover, military service itself has become much more complicated than in the past.

It is natural that the political and military education of this kind of youth demands higher qualifications from commanders and political workers. A large role in this has to be played by the party and komsomol organizations for which providing help to commanders in making skilled soldiers out of young conscripts has to become a Jaily concern and the content of their work.

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Speaking at a meeting with the workers of the motor vehicle plant imeni I. A. Likhachev, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said that modern production requires that every worker have a clear idea of his place in the labor process, that he knows what he is making and why, that he knows what depends upon him, and that he has the feeling that his work is a necessary part of the overall work. This, comrades, also directly applies to our educational work with the personnel. Its goal is to establish in the consciousness of every soldier a clear understanding of the fact that he is performing a responsible assignment in the defense of the socialist gains of the Soviet people. Then we will rightly be able to expect from him a genuine interest in his military profession, and not simply diligence and discipline, but also a vital interest and concern for the common cause, for increasing the combat readiness of his subunit, unit, or ship, and for strengthening the combat might of the Armed Forces.

In organizing party-political work, we must also take account of the character of modern war. It is frequently said that today's weapons make incomparably greater demands upon people than those which were used during the past war. This way of putting the matter does not give rise to any doubts. But we should not limit ourselves solely to establishing this indisputable truth. It is necessary to achieve the kind of situation in which, in organizing the training and education of the personnel, every commander and political worker has a clear understanding of the kinds of new moral, physical, and psychological trials that our soldier will come up against in a real battle, if the imperialists were to unleash a war, and the kinds of reserves of strength--combat, ideological, and moral--that have to be trained into the defenders of our homeland during peacetime. And although combat equipment is becoming increasingly complex and menacing, the decisive force in war has been and remains the human being, one who is convinced, who has an expert mastery of the weapons entrusted to him, and who is morally prepared to endure all kinds of trials for the sake of achieving victory.

We have to consider the irreconciliability of our struggle against bourgeois ideology in the work on the ideological-political education of the personnel. The ideological conflict between the two systems is becoming increasingly active, while imperialist propaganda is becoming more sophisticated. There can be no place for neutrality and compromise in this struggle.

Thus, comrades, the basic criterion of the effectiveness of party-political work is the level of combat readiness and of combat and political training which has been reached. And this must always be remembered.

A further increase in the activeness and vitality of the primary party organizations and a strengthening of their influence on all aspects of the life of the forces is one of the central problems of party construction in the Army and Navy.

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As early as the time when the Soviet Armed Forces were at the beginning of their combat career Vladimir Il'ich Lenin noted that the party had created a strong foundation for a new Army which made it possible for it to win victories under unprecedentedly difficult conditions, and that this foundation had been created by "work in a new manner, political propaganda at the front, the organization of the communists in our Army, and the self-sacrificing organization and struggle of the best people of our working class."** Since that time the strength of this foundation has been tested more than once. And always, both during the years of peaceful construction and during wartime, our communists have been the force which has cemented the ranks of the defenders of our homeland and led them to victory.

The statement of the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that the primary party organizations are in the front line of our construction applies in full measure to the work of our Army and Navy communists. Our communists in the Armed Forces are with good reason regarded as the leaders of the Army and Navy masses, examples of the execution of military duty, and models of a sense of principle and of ideological tempering. At the present time there are tens of thousands of primary and company party organizations and party groups in the Army and Navy which practically cover our entire military structure. What an enormous force this is, comrades! It is only necessary to make skillful use of this force in the accomplishment of its tasks. The party organizations and their fighting helper—the Army komsomol—this is the chief force by means of which we accomplish all of our deeds.

It is generally known that party work has its own specific nature. Party organizations cannot mechanically copy the work methods of commanders and chiefs or duplicate their decisions and orders. To persistently struggle for a complete and high quality fulfillment of combat and political training plans by active measures of persuasion—this is the most important duty of party organizations. With the means characteristic of them they have to increase the role of the orders of commanders and chiefs and active—ly influence the work of the military collectives of units, ships, and military educational institutions.

The most important thing which we have to seek to achieve is for every communist not only to be a model soldier, but also to lead the non-party members. This, comrades, is a very important and difficult matter. The fact that we are still insufficiently working in this direction is testified to by instances when certain communists see shortcomings and pass them by. If a party organization tolerates such cases, the effect of its educational work will not be high.

On the whole, the results of party-political work will be better, the more principled the approach of party organizations to the solution of all of the problems which are raised for them by Army life and the deeper and

**V. I. Lenin, op.cit., Vol 37, p 468.

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better the methods of educational work. From the point of view of the entire party, all of this is very well discussed in such important documents as the decrees of the CC CPSU "On the Work to Select and Educate Ideological Cadres in the Party Organization of Belorussia" and "On the State of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Tambovoskaya Oblast Party Organization." And it is entirely correct that the comrades who spoke in the discussions called attention to this.

The increased role and influence of party organizations depends to a large extent upon a further improvement of their direction by political agencies.

In recent years, the work of political agencies of all elements has become richer and more purposeful. They are acting as consistent transmitters of the party's policies and fighting organizers and are doing a great deal for the development of the mass initiative and creativity of the personnel and for the development of socialist competition in the units and on ships. A considerable contribution has been made by political agencies in further strengthening connections with local party, government, and public organizations and improving military-patriotic and mass defense work among the population.

In speaking about intra-party democracy, one must keep in mind its close connection with one-man authority as the principle of construction and management in the Armed Forces. For this reason, political agencies have to be more active in instilling a spirit of partiynost' in the work of the agencies of military management, constantly show concern for strengthening one-man authority and for increasing the authority of commanders, and be intolerant toward all shortcomings in this area. Greater energy in their work and a greater acuteness and sense of principle in posing and resolving urgent problems—this is what we should wish for our political agencies, including in their work on educating cadres.

The demands today upon the leader in general and the soldier in particular have undergone an immeasurable growth. The present-day leader has to be distinguished by a high level of partiynost', a deep knowledge of his work, discipline, initiative, and a creative approach to the fulfillment of all of his duties.

In recent years substantial work has been carried out in the Soviet Army and Navy to improve the selection, placement, and education of cadres. A policy of promoting promising young officers to the basic command, political, and engineering posts is being actively carried out. They have a high level of theoretical training, but do not always possess the necessary practical experience. Party concern for their formation and education is one of the most important tasks of the military councils, the commanders, and the headquarters and political agencies. In showing concern for the education of these cadres, it is necessary to correctly combine a high level of exactingness toward them with sensitivity and to patiently and persistently teach the young officers so that they give the best showing of themselves in their work sectors.

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Our party is making especially great demands upon the political workers of the Army and Navy. All of you, comrades, know from your own experience that a political worker has to know a great deal and be able to do a great deal. But if I were asked what is the chief and basic quality that a political worker has to possess, I would say that, in the first place, he has to be a communist in the highest meaning of that word. (Applause.) What has always distinguished and continues to distinguish the political worker of our army? Why is he highly valued, believed in, and why do the masses of soldiers follow him? First of all, for his profound ideological conviction, his great partiynost', his honesty and exemplariness in everything, and for his close and not formal relationship with the personnel.

The political worker's chief method of work has always been and continues to be the method of persuasion. In order to persuade people and have them follow after you knowledge alone is not enough. The decisive role here is played by the personal example of the political worker, his party passion, his sense of principle and intolerance toward any deviations from the Leninist norms of party life and the principles of our morality, and, at the same time, his responsiveness and sensitivity to people and his ability to understand them and give them the necessary help. A political worker has the task of putting all of his abilities and all of the passion of his heart into his work with people.

A genuine political worker is distinguished by his accessibility to and constant connection with the masses. The people are always attracted to him. Veterans respect him for his experience and sincerity. Young soldiers see in him a senior comrade who is attentive to them in a fatherly way and who is strict and sensitive; they go to him for advice and share their most secret thoughts with him.

There is no doubt that if in all of the elements and, above all, in the subunits and units there will exist precisely this kind of connection with the masses which will make it possible for commanders and political workers to, as they say, feel the pulse and the heartbeat of people, we will rapidly rid ourselves of the negative phenomena which still exist among us and raise the combat readiness of the Armed Forces to a new and even higher level. And it is this that we are seeking to achieve.

In conclusion, I would like once again to emphasize that the chief task of all political workers at the present time consists in explaining the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress to all of the personnel in a convincing and understandable manner, in propagandizing our achievements, and in demonstrating the greatness of the tasks which the party has set for me entire Soviet people. All of this work has to be aimed at a further unification of the entire personnel around the Communist Party and Soviet government, at the cultivation in soldiers of a selfless devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and at the formation in them of a feeling of ardent Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

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It is essential to continue to constantly cultivate in the personnel a high level of vigilance and an intolerant hatred toward the enemies of our homeland, toward all who are waging a struggle against socialism and the policy of peace and the security of peoples and who are attempting to throw mankind into the abyss of a new world war.

The entire content of our ideological-educational work has to be subordinated to making every Soviet soldier see the meaning and goal of his life in selfless service to the homeland and in a conscientious fulfillment of his military duty and in seeing to it that even a former soldier who has retired from the ranks of the Armed Forces is always ready to again take up his place in these ranks and with a weapon in his hands perform his sacred duty of protecting the Soviet homeland.

Comrades!

A useful, creative, and rich exchange of opinions has taken place at our conference. The discussion of the report by the Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy General of the Army Comrade A.A. Yepishev on the problems of party construction of the Armed Forces testifies to the high ideological-theoretical maturity and great practical experience of our leading political cadres.

Quite a few valuable proposals were made at the conference which will be studied by the Ministry of Defense and Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and May. We shall attempt to find an acceptable form of generalizing the results of the conference and of transmitting its conclusions and recommendations of all of our military councils, commanders, and political agencies for extensive use in their practical work.

Comrades!

There are important and responsible tasks before us. The year 1976, the year of the 25th Party Congress, has to become for us military men a year of a further increase in the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces. We have everything necessary to accomplish this task. High results in our work will be the best reply to the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. We are convinced that the glorious detachment of Army and Navy political workers, like the entire personnel of our Army and Navy, will give all of its strength to the accomplishment of this responsible task. (Prolonged applause.)

Permit me, comrades, on your behalf to ensure the Central Committee, the Politburo of the CC, and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally that the Armed Forces will continue to perform their combat watch with honor and will do everything so that no intrigues by the aggressive imperialist forces will be able to hinder the historic movement of our society along the path to communism! (Prolonged applause.)

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I wish you further great successes in your responsible and noble work. (Prolonged applause.)

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THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BULGARIA

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the leading party and administrative aktiv of Plevenskiy District of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. 6 December 1976, pp 296-300]

[Text] Dear citizens of the city of Pleven!

Friends!

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Permit me to express my most sincere and deepest gratitude for the great honor you have shown me--the award to me of the title of Honorary Citizen of the City of Pleven.

I regard this decision by the Executive Committee of the City People's Soviet of Pleven as a display of deep fraternal feelings on the part of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Communist Party for the Soviet Union, for the Soviet People, and for our Leninist Communist Party.

Your city occupies an important place in the history of our peoples. It symbolizes Russian-Bulgarian friendship and fraternity which has been molded by the blood spilled by both peoples in the struggle against a common enemy. To bear the title of Honorary Citizen of such a wonderful city as Pleven is a great honor!

Making use of this occasion, allow me to transmit to you the words of warm greetings from a great friend of the Bulgarian people, the twice Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and his wishes for great new successes in the construction of developed socialism and in a further strengthening and development of the friendship of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples!

The sources of our frienship have their roots in the distant past when the people of Russia more than once stretched out a hand of help to its fraternal Bulgarian people in its struggle for the freedom and independence

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of its homeland. With the help of the Russian army Bulgaria shook off the five-century Osman yoke, and thanks to the victories of the Soviet Armed Forces during the Great Patriotic War it was liberated from German-Fascist slavery. Today the free Bulgarian people, under the leadership of its fighting vanguard—the Bulgarian Communist Party—which is bound by indestructible ties of fraternity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is building a developed socialist society and is invariably achieving great successes.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is stronger today than ever before. Its traditions are growing stronger and more numerous in our magnificent deeds of socialist and communist construction. They are embodied in the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the fraternity of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, and in the indestructible alliance of the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This alliance is cemented by a common scientific revolutionary world view, by common lofty ideals, and by an unshakable fidelity to Marxism-Leninism. The great frienship between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria is the result of the very nature of the socialist system. It is increasing the creative strength of our workers by many times over, and is actively promoting the socioeconomic and cultural development of our countries.

The deep fraternal relations between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples have one of their vivid manifestations in the close friendship between the brother cities of Pleven and Rostov-na-Donu. The reciprocal trips by delegations of workers from these cities and their warm meetings and exchanges of experience are promoting an even greater mutual understanding between our peoples. Socialist internationalism is a powerful inspiring force of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship. The General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has said that if we were to be asked today what socialist internationalism means, we would reply: look at the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. That is socialist internationalism in action!

Like Soviet people, the Bulgarian people place a high value upon and protect as something sacred our frienship. Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said that "Bulgarian-Soviet frienship is the innermost hope and cause not only of Bulgarian communists, it is the profound conviction and insuperable striving of our entire people. For the present-day Bulgarian love for Bulgaria and love for the Soviet Union are inseparable from one another: it is a single love--single, like our common goal, and like our single great and glorious path."* The workers of the Soviet Union are full of the same feelings of love and endless frienship for their Bulgarian brothers and sisters.

*"The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stencgraphic Report," Vol 1, Moscow, 1976, p 237.

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OF MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION D.F. USTINOV (FOUO) 2 OF 2 10 AUGUST 1979

It is for this kind of frienship, for the establishment of disinterested fraternal cooperation between the workers that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin struggled. The true Leninist Georgiy Dimitrov struggled for this kind of friendship. It can now be said with complete justification that their hopes have been realized. We are carefully protecting and increasing this great frienship.

Comrades!

We know with what enormous enthusiasm and persistence the Bulgarian people is working in realizing the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. An enormous amount of organizational work to realize the course aimed at the construction of developed socialism is being performed by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party led by the great friend of the Soviet Union and glorious son of the Bulgarian people, the ardent patriot-internationalist Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

As in the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, major economic, social, and cultural transformations have occurred during the years of people's power in Bulgaria. The standard of living of the workers is rising. The international authority of your country has increased, and its defensive might has become stronger.

Soviet people are sincerely gladdened by your achievements and do not doubt for a moment that the successful fulfillment of your plans will accelerate Bulgaria's progress toward new heights of socialism!

Comrades! The Soviet Union has achieved great successes in communist construction. Our state has entered the 60th year of the Great October Socialist Revolution at the height of its strength. The Soviet people is working on the realization of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Conress with inexhaustible creative energy. The motto of Soviet people is: "Everything that has been planned by the party will be carried out!"

The Plenum of the CC CPSU which took place in October of this year summarized the preliminary results of the work which has been done by the party and people in realizing the assignments of the first year of our 10th Five-Year Plan. These results show that the words of Soviet people do not diverge from their deeds. The country of Soviets has gotten off to a good labor start and this is serving as a reliable guarantee of our future successes!

Peace is needed in order to build socialism and communism. In recent years important positive changes have occurred in international relations. As a result of the joint efforts undertaken by the socialist countries and with the support of all of the peace loving and realistically thinking forces, it has been possible, as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted, to push back the threat of a nuclear war and to make peace more reliable and more durable.

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The decisions of the Political Consultative Committee which were made at its conference last month in Bucharest are a new peace initiative by the socialist states. This conference again demonstrated the determination of the Warsaw Pact states to continue to carry out a coordinated course aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe, deepening detente, and affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

But we, comrades, are not pacifists. We are combining a persistent struggle for peace with a struggle to strengthen the defense capacity of the states of the socialist commonwealth. And you may be sure that the peaceful labor of our peoples is being reliably protected. No one will succeed in disturbing it!

Dear comrades!

Permit me to thank you for the warm words which have been said at this meeting about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and about the Soviet people and its Armed Forces.

Once again from all of my heart I thank you all, door friends, the district and city committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the district and city People's Soviets for the honor you have shown me-the award of the title of Honorary Citizen of the City of Pleven--and I assure you that I will bear this lofty title with dignity, as is fitting for a communist and citizen of the country of Soviets.

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria which under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party is successfully building a developed socialist society!

May the indestructible fraternal unity of the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the other socialist states grow stronger!

Glory to the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Central Committee led by the true son of the Bulgarian people Comrade Todor Zhivkov!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, and to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

Glory to the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause.)

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FRIENSHIP BORN IN JOINT STRUGGLE

D. F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting of the personnel of one of the units of the Sofia Garrison. 7 December 1976, pp 300-304]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Friends!

For several days now our Soviet military delegation has been in fraternal Bulgaria. During this time we have had an opportunity to meet with its workers and with the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army and to become acquainted with the life of the people and with the life and combat training of its soldiers. From the first hours of our stay in your country we have everywhere felt a friendly attitude toward the Soviet military delegation. Many thanks to you for this.

Comrades! Permit me to perform an honorable commission from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, the Marshall of the Soviet Union and twice Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and transmit to you, the soldiers of the glorious Bulgarian People's Army, his friendly and sincere greetings and wishes for great successes in your military labor.

Permit me also to convey to you ardent combat greetings from the entire personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Comrades! The friendship of our peoples has developed over centuries. Born in joint struggle, it has been growing stronger from year to year. This friendship is pure and indestructible, for it is based on the solid foundation of a Marxist-Leninist world view and on the principles of proletarian internationalism. At its basis is the common nature of our ideas and goals—the construction of socialism and communism. Its cementing force is the inseparable unity of our fraternal communist parties. No one and nothing can disturb this friendship.

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The attitude of our people toward Soviet-Bulgarian friendship was vividly expressed by L. I. Brezhnev. He said: "The true friendship of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, their growing closeness, and our comprehensive cooperation—this is our common precious possession. At the same time, it is also the possession of the entire socialist commonwealth. It is a contribution to the cause of peace and of the social progress of all of mankind."*

Convincing examples of our ever strengthening friendship of many centuries can be met everywhere on Bulgarian land. They include the numerous monuments which have been erected in honor of Russian and Soviet soldier-liberators, and they include a number of new plants, factories, electric power stations, and other enterprises which have been built with assistance from the Soviet Union.

As L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "the drawing together of our two countries—the Soviet Union and Bulgaria—is unswervingly moving forward. The solidarity and mutual actions of all of the countries of the socialist commonwealth are constantly growing stronger....In all of this there are ever new manifestations of the constructive force of our fraternal relations and of the mighty power of proletarian and socialist internationalism."**

We are confident that the friendly relations, the exchange of advanced experience, and the constant process of the development of comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to serve as an inexhaustible source for the strengthening of the fraternity of our countries!

With their successes, our peoples, like the peoples of the other socialist states, are demonstrating to the entire world the indisputable advantage of the new social system. The socialist countries know of no crises, no inflation, and no unemployment. The life of their peoples is becoming increasingly rich and beautiful.

Bulgaria has attained great heights in its development. In an historically brief period of time it has turned into a socialist state with a developed industry, a mechanized agriculture, and a modern science and culture. As was noted at the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the economy of Bulgaria is developing successfully. High economic and social development indicators have also been planned for the current five-year period.

Soviet people place a high value upon the diligence of the Bulgarian people which under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party has accomplished a fundamental turn toward progress and toward an advanced social system--socialism. As sincere friends, we are gladdened by your successes

^{*}L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 4, p 282.

^{**}L. I. Brezhnev. op.cit., pp 225-226.

in realizing the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and we are gladdened by the confident progress of the Bulgarian people in the construction of a developed socialist society!

I want to say to you that the Soviet Union has achieved great accomplishments in communist construction. The economic might of the Soviet state has risen to a new qualitative level. Today our people is successfully working on the fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. A socialist competition for an advanced realization of our plans is spreading throughout the entire country. At the Plenum of the Central Committee of our party which was held in October of this year and in the speech at it by L. I. Brezhnev a profound analysis was given of the course of the realization of the Congress' decisions. The key issues of the socio-economic development of the country were defined.

This year, the first year of our new five-year plan, the Soviet people has laid a good basis for the realization of the tasks set by the party. The party and people are putting their chief emphasis on achieving a high level of efficiency in production and on output quality. This is now the general line of the development of the Soviet economy and the motto for all of our work. Soviet people are confirming with new labor accomplishments in all of the sectors of the great front of our struggle for communism that the party's plans are the plans of the people and that without question they will be fulfilled!

Comrades! The Soviet Union and Bulgaria, together with the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, are moving in a single rank in the struggle for a durable peace on our planet. Thanks to the efforts of the socialist states and of all of the world's progressive forces it has been possible to push back the threat of a nuclear war and to make peace more reliable and durable.

However, the international situation continues to be complex and contradictory. The forces of reaction and militarism exist in the world and are active. They are striving to create conflict situation, are trying to cast doubts upon the possibility and advisability of deepening detente, are heating up the arms race, and are provoking intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

All of this demands from us constant vigilance, an increase in the combat readiness of our armies, and a strengthening of their cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. We, communists, have never been supporters of the organization of military blocs and we have repeatedly expressed our point of view in this regard. It is expressed with complete definiteness in the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states which was adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of this organization which took place last month in Bucharest. The participants at this meeting confirmed their readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Pact simultaneously with the dissolution of NATO and, as a first step, to eliminate their military

organizations. At the same time, it is stated in the Declaration that as long as NATO continues to exist and increase its military potential the Warsaw Pact states will take all of the necessary measures within their pact in order to always ensure reliable security for their peoples.

At the present time, the kind of defense potential has been created and is being maintained by the joint efforts of the Warsaw Pact countries which will doom any attempt by imperialism to deal with socialism by military force to failure. We have to continue to develop our combat community in all directions. The fraternal parties of the socialist countries are devoting constant and unremitting attention to this question.

The USSR Armed Forces are surrounded by the daily concern of the entire Soviet people, the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and L. I. Brezhnev personally. They possess all of the necessary means to accomplish their responsible tasks—to be a sentry for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace. Keeping step with the people, our Army and Navy are working intensely on the accomplishment of the tasks which follow from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and are constantly increasing the effectiveness and quality of combat and political training.

In the same way as the CPSU, the Bulgarian Communist Party is showing constant concern for the Armed Forces of its country. At the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party Comrade Todor Zhivkov said that "the party will continue to constantly increase the combat readiness of the Army and to strengthen the defense of the state within the framework of the Warsaw Pact." *** The Bulgarian People's Army, in close combat ranks with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, is vigilantly standing guard over peace and socialism!

The Soviet military delegation became acquainted with your unit with great interest. Its life and combat training produced a good impression upon us. We sincerely wish that your unit will achieve even higher indicators in combat and political training.

Comrades! Permit me once again to thank you for the warm reception, and for the warm words which have been said about the Soviet Union, our Communist Party, the Soviet People, and its Armed Forces. The meeting with you has confirmed with new force the strength and indestructibility of the combat community of the armies of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and of all of the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

I wish you, dear comrades, good health, happiness, and great successes in your combat and political training and in a further increase in your combat readiness!

***PRAVDA, 30 March 1976.

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Long live the eternal and indissoluable friendship of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the CPSU led by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

May the combat alliance of our armies which are standing guard over peace and socialism grow stronger!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause.)

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STEADFASTLY INCREASE THE COMBAT STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov to the personnel of the Taman' Guard Motorized Infantry Division imeni M. I. Kalinin. 28 December 1976, pp 304-310]

[Text] Comrades!

I am very glad that I have been given the opportunity to visit your remarkable division, to acquaint myself with the life and combat training of its personnel, and to speak with them.

Permit me to carry out an honorable commission with a feeling of deep satisfaction—to convey to you combat greetings from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, the Chairman of the USSR Council for Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and his wishes for your further success in combat and political training.

Leonid Il'ich is always interested in the life of the Armed Forces and devotes a great deal of attention to increasing their combat strength and strengthening the defense capacity of our homeland. Soviet soldiers are replying to this concern of Leonid Il'ich with new achievements in their military work.

Recently, our Soviet country, the peoples of the fraternal socialist states, and all of the progressive people of our planet celebrated Leonid Il'ich's 70th birthday. We are all under the ineffacable impression of this glorious anniversary. The life and work of Leonid Il'ich is a vivid model of faithful service to the people, devotion to the great ideals of communism, and self-sacrificing struggle for Lenin's cause.

Comrades!

Only a few days are left until the end of 1976. This year has been filled with important events in the life of Soviet people. It will enter the

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chronicle of our fatherland as the year of the historic 25th CPSU Congress and the year of great labor accomplishments by our people. Never before during the entire history of its existence has the country of Soviets achieved such impressive successes on all of the fronts of communist construction as it has this year.

The results of the fulfillment of the national economic plan for the present year show that the 10th Five-Year Plan, as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted in his speech at the October (1976) Plenum of the CC CPSU, has begun well. The economic rhythm of 1976 is ensuring the accomplishment of the tasks which have been imposed by the party. Social production is developing at outstripping rates, its efficiency is increasing, and labor productivity is constantly growing. Solely on the basis of an overfulfillment of plans this year the country will receive around 5 billion rubles worth of additional industrial output.

The workers of agriculture have achieved great successes. They have gathered the largest grain harvest in the history of the country and have increased the production and procurement of cotton and other agricultural products. This, comrades, is an unprecedented victory of the agrarian policy of our Communist Party.

The material and cultural well-being of the workers is improving. Wages are increasing, the public consumption funds are growing, and millions of apartments and many hundreds of schools, hospitals, and children's institutions have been built. Health care and education and science and culture are developing.

All of this is a vivid testimony to the fact that concern for the welfare of the people is the highest goal of the work of our party and that the CPSU is constantly realizing it.

The country's achievements in economic development are great and indisputable. They are inspiring Soviet people to new labor feats and to the successful accomplishment of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Along with the growth of the economic might of our country and of all of the states of the socialist commonwealth and the continuous strengthening of their cooperation, their role and influence on the international arena are also increasing. The CPSU together with the fraternal communist and workers' parties is carrying out a peace offensive on an ever wider scale. Despite the counteractions of the reactionary imperialist circles, the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are becoming increasingly established in international relations and detente is more and more persistently carving a road for itself.

Soviet people and the soldiers of the USSR Armed Forces fully approve of the wise foreign policy of the CPSU which is aimed at strengthening the

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peace and security of peoples and at the creation of favorable conditions for the construction of communism.

The imperialists are now already taking account of the fact that socialism has acquired such an enormous weight in the world and has gained such power that it is impossible not to reckon with it. Nevertheless, as a result of their aggressive essence, imperialist reactionary circles are still attempting to hinder a further strengthening of world socialism. They have not lost hope that, basing themselves on a "position of strength," they will still succeed in holding on to the possibility of commanding other countries and peoples, a possibility which is slipping out of their hands. Toward this end, they are placing various obstacles in the way of detente, inciting an arms race, increasing their military preparations, and strengthening aggressive military blocs, in the first place, NATO.

This is obliging us to vigilantly keep an eye on the intrigues of the enemies of peace, to foil their attempts to drag mankind into a destructive war, to constantly increase the combat strength of our armed forces, and to always be on guard.

Comrades!

Like the entire Soviet people, the soldiers of our Armed Forces are laboring stubbornly. They are persistently mastering complex modern weapons and the art of being victorious. At the final tests and during exercises this year all of the units and ships showed positive results. Our soldiers from the most diverse occupations are vigilantly performing their service and protecting the peaceful labor of our people.

Soviet people love their Armed Forces, are proud of their accomplishments, and show concern for them. The source of all of the achievements of Soviet soldiers is in the indissoluable unity of the people in the Army.

Thanks to the concern of the party and the government, our Army and Navy are continuing to successfully develop. They are being equipped with modern weapons and combat equipment, the organizational structure of the forces is being perfected, and the training of the personnel is improving. Carrying out the demands of the Central Committee of our party, the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces are directing their efforts toward the most rapid mastery of their new combat equipment, a further strengthening of discipline and organization, and an increase in their combat readiness. Our many-sided party-political work and all of the work of our commanders and political workers in party and komsomol organizations is aimed at the high quality accomplishment of these tasks.

The armies of all of the other states of the socialist commonwealth are in a single combat formation with the Soviet Armed Forces. They are also persistently mastering the military art and are ready at any time to rise

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to the defense of the socialist gains of their peoples. We were once again convinced of this when we were present at the exercise of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States, "Shield-76," and by the visit of a Soviet military delegation to the military units of the Polish Forces and Bulgarian People's Army. This was a genuine demonstration of combat unity and of the class solidarity of the socialist armies and their fraternity in arms.

Comrades!

You are serving in a division which is known by the entire country. It has a rich and glorious history and has passed through the fiery trials of the Great Patriotic War: it participated in the battles at Smolensk and in the North Caucuses, in the liberation of the Kuban' and the Taman' peninsula and of the Baltic States, and in the defeat of the German Fascist Forces in East Prussia.

Our homeland has placed a high value on the division's services awarding it the Orders of the Red Banner and of Suvorov Second Class for its model performance of its combat missions and for the unexampled heroism and courage shown by its personnel. More than 30 soldiers of the division have been awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and thousands have been awarded orders and medals.

You are rightly proud of the fact that your unit bears the name of the fiery Leninist-revolutionary Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin. To serve under the combat standard of a division so covered in glory and to bear the high title of a Taman' soldier--this, comrades, is a great honor.

During the postwar years the unit's personnel has continued to persistently perfect its combat training and to increase the glorious traditions of its fathers. The award to the division of the Honorary Lenin Anniversary Certificate and the Honorary Anniversary Token of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers testifies to the successes which it has achieved in combat and political training. At the final tests in 1975 and 1976 the unit demonstrated good results in combat and political training.

Now, as is known to me and as we only just heard from the speeches, the personnel of the division which has joined the All-Army Socialist Competition is persistently struggling for high indicators in combat and political training and for a worthy reception for our public holiday—the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

What can be said about the results of our brief acquaintance with the life of the personnel and with your combat training? I have to observe that I personally and my comrades have formed quite a good impression about the division. It is well organized, has new barracks and dining rooms, is equipped with modern weapons and combat equipment, staffed with remarkable

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rank-and-file and sorgeants and with highly trained officers, and it possesses a good training base. In a word, the unit has everything necessary to accomplish its task with high indicators. It is now up to you, comrades. Success depends upon your work.

I would like to call upon you, soldiers of the glorious Taman' division, to accept the commitment to make the division the most advanced one in the Armed Forces and to report by the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that you have kept your word. I understand that this appeal is a very responsible one and demands an equally responsible response from every soldier in the division. Is it possible to achieve such high results? Yes, it is possible and it is necessary. Of course, this is not an easy matter because all of our units are struggling to be leading and advanced ones in the Armed Forces. But you have to mobilize your entire will and all of your mind to be victorious in this great competition. I wish this for you with all of my heart.

Comrades! I have said that your division is well set up. But this does not mean that everything has been completed in it. There is no limit to an improvement in the living conditions of the troops and an improvement of the training or any other base. Therefore, if you adopt the commitment to make the division an advanced one in combat and political training, you have to think about how to set it up better than any other. It is for you to do this, and it is for us to help you. And we will help you.

Comrades!

One of our great tasks is the mastery of modern equipment. No assurances and no oaths will help to accomplish this task if you do not take up this work with youthful komsomol ardor, and if your hearts are not aflame with a passionate desire to be in the forefront and if this desire is not backed up by work. It has to be remembered that in our day one must not lag behind even by a little in any sector. This is all the more impermissible in military matters, under conditions when the armies of aggressive imperialist states are being intensively supolied with new types of weapons, are mastering them, and are persistently preparing for war.

You possess good weapons and combat equipment and will be receiving even better arms. And your task is to genuinely master them more rapidly, to learn to make skillful use of them in battle, and to make use of all of their combat possibilities. This is one of the demands upon the training of the division so that it can become advanced not in words, but in deeds.

In this connection, I would like to remind you that it is necessary to make a profound study of the experience of wars, especially of the Great Patriotic War. It is necessary to work a great deal and stubbornly and to make full use of the time assigned for studies in order to master military affairs, military equipment, and tactics to perfection. This is the great task of the entire personnel and, in the first place, of the

commanders and political workers. They have to organize the instructional process and combat and political training in such a way as to make the division an advanced one in the Armed Forces.

We, comrades, are great enthusiasts. However, enthusiasm alone is not enough for the accomplishment of major and responsible tasks. It is necessary to embody it in our practical actions and in an ability to master equipment in such a way that every bullet, shell, bomb, or missile strikes the target and that the enemy is destroyed at the first shot, missile launching, or bomb strike. Otherwise, you yourself will be beaten by him. In brief, you have to thoroughly train yourself for the defense of the homeland and be in constant combat readiness.

A great deal of training is necessary in order to achieve high indicators in combat training. I am satisfied that a great deal of attention is being devoted to this in your division and you yourselves are creating some models of trainers. It is necessary to continue to do this in collaboration with science and with research institutes and designing bureaus. We will also try to help you in this.

Comrades!

Our country is approaching the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The preparations for this glorious anniversary are giving rise in all of us to a feeling of pride in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people and in our native Communist Party which is confidently leading the country along a Leninist course to the victory of communism and it is engendering an insuperable endeavor to gladden the homeland with new successes in military labor.

You know that in light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the chief emphasis in the Armed Forces is being put on improving the efficiency and quality of combat and political training. Today, these two words—efficiency and quality,—as L. I. Brezhnev noted at the October (1976) Plenum of the CC CPSU, have become the motto for all of our economic work. Soviet people are confirming with new labor achievements in all of the sectors of the great front of the struggle for communism that the party's plans are the plans of the people and that they will without question be realized.

In the Armed Forces the struggle for efficiency and quality presupposes a persistent rise in the level of the combat readiness of the forces, an improvement of the training and educational process on the basis of an increasingly wide and full use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, the active use of all forms of ideological-educational and party-political work, and a thorough strengthening of military discipline and organization.

The struggle for efficiency and quality is not an abstract concept, but the daily work of every soldier. It obliges us to persistently master Marxist-Leninist science, to seek to achieve an excellent fulfillment of training and combat tasks and of the mastery of weapons and combat equipment, to acquire and improve ratings, and to constantly struggle for military honor and dignity, for faultless behavior and for model appearance, and for the observance of our moral norms while at service and outside of it. In a word, the struggle for efficiency and quality for the Soviet soldier is a struggle for the high title of excellent soldier in combat and political training and for excellent subunits, units, and ships.

In order to achieve this, it is important that commanders and political workers, headquarters and political agencies, party and komsomol organizations, and the entire personnel of the division work even more actively on accomplishing their tasks and always and everywhere show a high level of organization and responsibility for the state of the combat readiness of the units and subunits.

Permit me to express my confidence that the Taman'-soldiers will successfully cope with the tasks which have been set for them and will serve as a beacon for all of the units of the USSR Armed Forces. You have all of the necessary preconditions for this.

Permit me, comrades, to express on your behalf profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, to the Politburo of the CC, and to dear Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally for their great concern for the Armed Forces and to assure them that our Army and Navy will continue to honorably carry out its great mission—to be a guard for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace!

Making use of this occasion, I congratulate you, your families, and your relatives and friends with the coming New Year and wish you great successes in your military labor, good health, and personal happiness.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by stormy applause.)

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FOR A FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE

D.F. USTINOV, 12BRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a conference of the leading personnel of the Armed Forces. 23 March 1977, pp 333-340]

[Text] Comrades!

By maintaining the necessary combat readiness the Soviet Armed Forces, our Army and Navy, is vigilantly performing its duty and successfully accomplishing the tasks which have been set for it.

The increased demands which have been made upon the Armed Forces by the 25th CPSU Congress are making it necessary to further strengthen discipline in the Army and Navy. A high level of military discipline is a crucial factor in the combat readiness of the Armed Forces and a necessary condition for the achievement of victory in battle.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin attributed enormous importance to military discipline. "We led the Red Army to victory," he noted, "not only by agitation, but also by strict iron discipline."* At all of the stages of military construction our party, guided by Lenin's instructions, has constantly and persistently shown concern for strengthening discipline in the Army and Navy.

Under present conditions, as a result of the major and truly revolutionary transformations in military affairs, the equipping of the Army and Navy with new equipment and weapons, the appearance of new methods of waging combat operations, and the changes in the ways of military life, military discipline has become even more important. Today the Armed Forces need discipline which has been truly brought in Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's expression, to the highest level.

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^{*}V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 40, p 12.

1. A Year of Work to Realize the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress

Comrades!

For more than a year now the Soviet people and the personnel of the Army and Navy have been working with inspiration and self-sacrifice to realize the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress which defined the most important directions of our state's domestic and foreign policies and formulated the concrete tasks of the economic, socio-political, and ideological strategy of the party at the current stage.

The ideas and decisions of the Congress and the principled positions set forth in the report by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the Congress and in his speech at the October (1976) Plenum of the CC CPSU define the basis for the work of party, state, and public organizations and of the entire Soviet people. They are giving rise to a growing upsurge of political and labor activity by the masses in carrying out the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

This is witnessed by the successes which have been achieved in the All-Union Socialist Competition for a further rise in production efficiency and in the quality of work which was initiated by an appeal from the Central Committee of the CC CPSU. The first, starting year of the 10th Five-Year Plan has been successfully completed, and the second—the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October—has begun. Our country is continuing to confidently follow the course of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Along with the workers of our country, the soldiers of our Army and Navy have stubbornly worked on accomplishing their tasks and have taken a new step forward in mastering military skills and increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

The large and vivid speech by comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions defined the concrete ways of accomplishing the tasks set by the party and revealed the increased responsibility for this of every Soviet person.

The Central Committee of the party and the government are carrying out many-sided and strenuous work in the foreign policy field. It is defined by the Program for a Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress.

In our foreign policy we and our socialist allies are firmly following a Leninist peace course. The fraternal socialist states are devoting especial attention to strengthening their unity and deepening their comprehensive cooperation.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and the countries which have liberated themselves from colonial dependence are

developing successfully. Having taken the path of independent development, these countries are continuing to strengthen their international positions and economies and we are providing them with comprehensive assistance and support in this.

In complete accordance with the party's foreign policy program, the Soviet Union is continuing to develop relations with the capitalist states on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage. At the same time, despite the consistent peace-loving foreign policy of our party, aggressive circles in the imperialist states are not stopping their hostile activities against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and are opposing detente and cooperation in every way that they can. They are replying to the peaceful proposals and initiatives of the countries of the socialist commonwealth with increased military preparations, increased military expenditures, and an intensification of anti-Soviet propaganda. "It is these forces," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said in his speech in Tula, "acting under the false pretext of a 'Soviet threat' which represent the aggressive line in international politics of our day."**

All of this is compelling our party and government to devote unremitting attention to strengthening the defensive might of our country and to constantly show concern that the Soviet Armed Forces possess everything necessary to accomplish their chief task—to be a guard for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace. The personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy express profound gratitude for this concern to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo of the CC, and to Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally and are replying to it with new successes in their military labor.

2. Iron Military Discipline -- the Basis of the Combat Readiness of the Armed Forces

Comrades!

An active process of improving combat and political training is now taking place in the Armed Forces. As never before the personnel of the Army and Navy are united around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee. Since the 25th CPSU Congress the military councils, the commanders, the headquarters and political agencies, and the party and komsomol organizations have markedly intensified their work to cultivate in our servicemen high moral qualities and a feeling of personal responsibility for maintaining a proper military order, for an absolute execution of Soviet laws, regulations, and orders, and for a further strengthening of military discipline.

Military discipline is a component part of our general state discipline; it is closely interconnected with all of the aspects of the political

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^{**}L. I. Breznev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 6, p 294.

socio-economic, and spiritual life of the Soviet people. The party has always regarded and continues to regard the construction of the Armed Forces as inseparable unity with the general tasks of communist construction.

The 25th CPSU Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of discipline, organization, efficiency, and of a strict observance of the rules of socialist community living. The problem of discipline at production was raised again with especial force in the speech by Leonid Il'ich at the 16th Congress of Trade Unions. The party's demands concerning a strengthening of law and order, legality, and organization and discipline are directly related to the Armed Forces.

Modern Armed Forces are inconceivable without strong discipline. This is understood not only by us, but also by our probable enemies. In the capitalist armies discipline is persistently implanted by means of blind obedience, the creation of formations consisting of hirelings who are ready for money to commit the most heinous crimes, and also by means of intense ideological work with soldiers and sailors in the spirit of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This was very clear during the time of the wars in Vietnam, Angola, and in the Near East. We also see this in the everyday practice of capitalist armies.

By virtue of its social nature, Soviet military discipline is fundamentally different from military discipline in the capitalist armies. Its essence springs above all from the fact that our Armed Forces were given birth to by the Great October Socialist Revolution, are the creation of a working people, and embody in themselves features of the most advanced social and state system, and that the guiding role in them is carried out undividedly by the Communist Party.

Military discipline in the Soviet Armed Forces is based on a high level of political consciousness in the personnel, a profound understanding by it of the patriotic duty and internationalist tasks of our people, and a selfless devotion to our socialist homeland and to the cause of communism. "The strength of our system," Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has emphasized, "is in the consciousness of the masses. And the party regards it as its constant concern to cultivate communist consciousness and the readiness, will, and ability to build communism."*** A profound awareness of his duties to society and a readiness to always, at any post and under any conditions, be faithful to his military oath and perform his duty to the end is most fully characteristic of the Soviet soldier.

In speaking about discipline we must not fail to take account of the fact that the current stage of the development of the Armed Forces is making even greater demands upon it.

***L.I. Brezhnev,op. cit., Vol 5, p 530.

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With the introduction into the forces of the latest combat equipment and weapons, and with the growing complexity of the character of military operations and of the tasks performed by the Armed Forces the role of firm military order, organization, and a precise execution of the orders of commanders and chiefs becomes more important. The present-day military organism demands maximum coordination of actions not only on the part of individual soldiers, but also of interconnected military collectives. To-day the damage caused by any violation of military discipline is growing immeasurably greater. Even the slightest manifestation of carelessness or a failure to comply with the regulations even by a single soldier can lead to severe consequences, unwarranted losses, and to a failure to carry out combat missions. Every soldier is personally responsible for the actions of his subunit, and the latter has this responsibility for every soldier.

The increased demands upon Soviet military discipline are also a result of the increased role of the moral factor in the Armed Forces. In the future war soldiers will frequently get into situations in which they will have to independently accomplish combat missions. This places a great responsibility upon them and demands initiative and a high level of personal discipline.

The high demands being made upon military discipline oblige all commanders and chiefs and headquarters and political agencies to constantly improve the forms and methods of the work which is aimed at strengthening it with regard to the changes which are occurring in the country and in the Armed Forces.

3. The Basic Directions of a Further Strengthening of Military Discipline

I shall consider the basic directions of our work which follow from the demands of the Central Committee of the party regarding a strengthening of military discipline.

First. On a further strengthening of political-educational work with all categories of servicemen. The most important thing here is, first of all, that not a single soldier remain outside of constant political influence and that every chief and all of the communists of the Army and Navy work every day on the education of people. And, finally, that every political-educational measure be performed with the greatest effect and return.

Well-trained reinforcements are now coming into the Army and Navy. Among our recruits, around 70 percent have higher and secondary educations, more than 80 percent are komsomol members, every third one has undergone training in DOSAAF, and many have production experience. The intellectual baggage with which young men are coming into the Army and Navy is objectively increasing the demands upon the entire process of training and education and, especially, upon educators. We have to take all of this into account and organize our training and ideological-educational work accordingly.

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Daily political influence on the personnel is achieved not only in carrying out measures of an educational character whose effectiveness must without question be increased, but also in the process of the entire service and life of the forces. In organizing the training of the personnel every commander in chief and every headquarters and political agency has to be concerned that every exercise serves not only training, but also the cultivation in the soldiers of communist consciousness, high combat morale qualities, and a strengthening of military discipline.

The second direction in the work to strengthen military discipline consists in increasing the exactingness of commanders and chiefs of all levels.

What should be the starting point for a general increase in exactingness, comrades? It can be said without any doubt that it has to begin with the very highest exactingness of the leader toward himself, with the personal efficiency of commanders and chiefs of all levels, and with a clear and strict execution by them of the orders and regulations.

The leading role in increasing exactingness upon subordinates belongs to the commander with one-man authority. In further strengthening one-man authority--and we must do this un-wervingly,--it must be kept in mind that one-man authority not only gives the right to command. It obliges the leader to be an example for his subordinates of irreproachable service to the homeland and to the Communist Party. The success of a commander's work as a whole and in strengthening military discipline in particular depends to a decisive extent upon his ideological maturity and sense of party principle, his professional competence and moral purity, and his exemplariness in everything--in labor, in everyday life, and in his behavior. No post frees a leader from a high level of exactingness toward himself.

Basically, these propositions are correctly understood in the Army and Navy. But cases can be met when individual officers see in one-man authority only one aspect--the right to power. They do not show the necessary concern for the education of people and for giving them the necessary help, apparently believing that orders alone are capable of ensuring success. It has to be remembered that true exactingness does not end with the issuing of an order. Every order has to be backed up by organizing its execution. And when we speak about increased exactingness in all of the elements of our Army organism we want once again to emphasize that this is being demanded by the Communist Party, by life itself, by the greater complexity of the tasks whose accomplishment is the work of the Armed Forces.

The third direction of practical work in strengthening military discipline concerns ensuring firm order in accordance with the regulations in the forces.

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The entire way of life and service of the forces, their internal order, and their performance of garrison and watch duty--everything has to be organized in accordance with the regulations and orders, and there must not be any deviations or indulgences. This requires that all servicemen have a good knowledge of the regulations and that they strictly carry them out. The warrant officers and michmen and sergeants and first-sergeants have an important role in maintaining firm order in accordance with the regulations in the units and subunits. Constant concern has to be shown for increasing their authority and they have to be persistently taught the art of training and educating people and inculcated with command skills. It has to be seen to it that the junior commander who is always in the midst of the soldiers always has his own personality and confidently commands and directs his subordinates.

A strict execution of the regulations is an inseparable part of the general task of complying with the laws of the Soviet state, for our regulations are the legislative summary of the rules and regulations which determine the life and the work of the forces. Taking account of this, more attention has to be given to legal propaganda and to explaining the requirements of the oath and the rights and duties of soldiers and of their responsibility for violating them. It has to be seen to it that the entire way of military life affirms socialist law and order, educates soldiers in the spirit of its sacredness and inviolability, and inculcates in them an intolerance for the slightest deviations from it.

The fourth direction in the work to strengthen discipline is ensuring the exemplariness in service and personal behavior of, above all, communists and komsomol members who comprise 90 percent of the personnel of the Army and Navy. This, comrades, is a great force. But it can show itself in full measure only when every communist and komsomol member serves as an example for his comrades in the performance of his military duty. The exemplariness of communists and komsomol members has to show itself not only in personal behavior, but also in daily work to strengthen discipline in those military collectives in which they are serving.

A communist who knows about violations of discipline or about individual instances of unhealthy relations between soldiers and who does not take the necessary measures to put an end to this is, in essence, himself deviating from the requirements of the party Rules. This is why a communist must not only himself be an example in discipline and service, but also struggle to implant firm order in the units and subunits and be intolerant toward shortcomings.

And, finally, the fifth direction in the work to strengthen discipline consists in a further improvement of living conditions and of the organization of mass cultural work. The constant concern for this of the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and the entire Soviet people obliges us to devote unremitting attention to the everyday life, training, service, and leisure of our soldiers. This will unquestionably have a favorable

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effect upon the combat readiness of the Army and Navy and upon the level of military discipline and organization in the units and on the ships.

I would like to consider a few more issues.

First of all, about the cultivation in soldiers of a feeling of great responsibility for the fulfillment of the requirements of the military oath. When young soldiers take the oath we create a solemn atmosphere, emphasizing that this is an important act in the life of a soldier which places upon him the honorable duty of a defender of his socialist homeland. Faithfulness to the oath and to military duty has to be in the center of all of our ideological-educational work. The oath contains words by the soldier to be honest, brave, and disciplined and to irreproachably carry out all of the regulations and orders of commanders and chiefs. These words have to be constantly remembered and the absolute fulfillment of the oath has to be strictly demanded. This is our primary military and party duty!

The next question. A mass socialist competition for a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October and for advanced unit or our Armed Forces has now taken on a wide scope in the Army and Navy. This movement was begun by the Taman' Guard Motorized Infantry pivision imeni M. I. Kalinin. The great power of competition has to be used in all of our work in the subunits, units, and ships to strengthen military discipline. All categories of soldiers--from privates to generals--have to make a worthy contribution to the competition. When the results of combat and political training are totaled up strict account also has to be taken of the state of discipline.

And one more question. The formation in the youth of the essence of military discipline has to begin with pre-conscription training in our general educational and vocational and technical schools, at enterprises, at kolkhozes, and in the DOSAAF system. For this reason, it is necessary to thoroughly improve the quality of pre-conscription training, to supply training bases with the appropriate equipment, to inculcate in the future soldiers not only the principles of military knowledge, but also a love for the Army and Navy and a deep respect for military labor, and to accustom them to military discipline. We are vitally interested in all of this. The Army and Navy are providing considerable help to local authorities in ensuring the pre-conscription training of the youth. This help should continue to be given. More attention has to be devoted to the work of the military-commissariats.

Comrades!

The struggle for a further strengthening of military discipline is our common work—the work of commanders and political workers and headquarters and political agencies. We have to solve all of the problems connected with strengthening discipline in an organic unity with the tasks of

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increasing combat readiness and the combat improvement of the subunits, units, and ships. And the level of discipline has to be judged above all by the degree of its influence on the combat readiness and capacity of a unit or ship.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

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AT THE FRONT LINES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at the meeting with the personnel of the tank division of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. 12 April 1977, pp 341-345]

[Text] Comrades!

A Soviet military delegation has arrived for a visit in the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of the Minister of National Defense of the GDR General of the Army comrade Heinz Hoffman. While we were here we could not but visit our own troops who are performing service on the territory of the German Democratic Republic in order to acquaint ourselves with their combat and political training and with the life of the personnel.

Permit me, first of all, to carry out an honorable commission from the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--to convey to you, guard soldiers, his combat greetings and wishes for great success in your life and training and for a further increase in your combat readiness!

The Central Committee of the Party, the Politburo of the CC, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally are devoting constant attention to strengthening the defense capacity of our country and to increasing the fighting strength of the Army and Navy. You remember his words which he said at the 25th CPSU Congress: "No one should have any doubts about the fact that our party will do everything so that the glorious Armed Forces of the Soviet Union will continue to possess all of the necessary means for carrying out their responsible task—to be the guard for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace."* And our party and our people are doing everything and are not sparing any efforts so as to maintain the combat capacity of the Army and Navy at the necessary level and supply it

^{*}L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 5, pp 543-544.

with first class weapons and everything necessary for its combat training and life!

This concern is yielding its fruits. It is finding a most ardent response in the hearts of Soviet soldiers and in their deeds. In reply to the concern of the party and the people they are persistently increasing their combat readiness and achieving high indicators in combat and political training.

Comrades!

Although you are far from your homeland, you are living a single life with it. You know that the Soviet people, closely and united around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, is working with inspiration and self-sacrifice on the realization of the historic plans of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the decisions of the October (1976) Plenum of the Central Committee of our party. Having successfully fulfilled the assignments of the first year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, Soviet people are confidently increasing the rates in realizing the even more difficult and strenuous program of the second year.

The approaching 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is giving rise to a new flow of creative power in our people. The workers of our towns and villages and our Soviet soldiers are full of an enormous aspiration to celebrate the glorious anniversary with new successes in strengthening the economic and defensive might of our socialist power.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government are performing many-sided and strenuous work in the foreign policy field. It is defined by the Program for a further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of peoples which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress. In our foreign policy both we and our allies are firmly following a Leninist peace policy and we have achieved considerable successes here.

However, the aggressive circles of the imperialist states are opposing an improvement of the international situation, are conducting preparations for war, and are intensifying their anti-Soviet propaganda. It is these forces, operating under the false pretext of a "Soviet threat," which represent the aggressive line in the international politics of our day. They want to return the world to the times of the "Cold War."

You know from the press of the results of the recent visit by the United States Secretary of State to the Soviet Union. The new American administration is attempting under various pretexts to revise and, in essence, nullify the agreement on a limitation of strategic offensive weapons which was reached between the USSR and the United States in Vladivostok, seeking one-sided advantages for itself. The same line is being occupied by the NATO bloc at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armaments and

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Armed Forces in Central Europe. It is completely obvious that this line is not encountering our support. The Soviet Union will not give up its security and the security of the fraternal socialist countries.

Under these conditions, the party is demanding from Soviet soldiers that they do not weaken their vigilance, that they keep a close watch on the intrigues of the enemies of peace, that they constantly increase the combat might of the Armed Forces, and that they always be on guard! In carrying out the demands of the party, the servicemen of our Army and Navy are persistently training, are performing their service conscientiously, and are directing all of their efforts toward a further increase in the combat readiness of the Army and Navy.

Comrades!

You are serving in a unit which is the continuer of the glorious combat traditions of the Urals Voluntary Tank Corps which was formed during the Great Patriotic War. It honorably carried its combat standards through many front-line trials. The party and the government placed a high value upon the services of the Corps and awarded it the Orders of the Red Banner, of Suvorov, and of Kutuzov. It was awarded the honorary designations of Guard and Urals-L'vov. Thirty-eight soldiers were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and around 45,000 people were awarded orders and medals.

During peacetime also your division has justified its Guard title. For its services in defense of the Soviet homeland and for its high indicators in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin the unit was awarded the honorary banner and the Honorary Lenin Anniversary Certificate of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

You have a wonderful combat heritage, comrades! To serve in such a division is a high honor. You should be proud of the combat glory of your unit and increase the traditions of your grandfathers and fathers with your military labor.

In 1975 and 1976 the division received a good evaluation for combat and poltical training. This year also, as it has been reported to me, it is successfully accomplishing its tasks. A large amount of work has been performed in the unit to maintain the initiative of the Taman' division. With great enthusiasm and effort the communist and komsomol members and the entire personnel have joined in the struggle for the title of an advanced unit in the Group of Forces and in the Armed Forces.

I consider it my obligation to warn you that the competition with the Taman' division will not be easy. The Taman' soldiers have begun to fulfill their commitments seriously and with a feeling of great responsibility. The

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Kantemir division is also following in its steps. I hope that you will not fall behind in this competition. May we have more advanced divisions. I wish you success in this!

What can I say about my impressions after my brief acquaintance with your training and life?

When I visited the units I saw well-organized training--all of the necessary conditions have been created in your division for this. It is only necessary to make a little more effort and you will achieve your goal.

The most important thing in combat and political training is to increase efficiency and quality. This follows from the demands of the party on the organization of work at any sector in which the Soviet people is active. Efficiency and quality are the key task of the 10th Five-Year Plan. But, as comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "In order for this laconic and exact formula not to turn into a tiresome phrase and lose its active and mobilizing character, it is necessary to check oneself every day and with passion: is everything being done to put it into practice?"**

The efficiency and quality of military labor, like combat readiness, are, comrades, the concrete daily practical affairs of the entire personnel.

To struggle for efficiency and quality in the Armed Forces means: first, to increase the effectiveness of the ideological-political education of the soldiers and of party-political work and, on this basis, to achieve a punctual, full, and profound treatment of combat training tasks, efficient combat coordination among the subunits, units, and crews, and a shortening of the time needed to put them in combat readiness.

It means, secondly, that every soldier has to have an excellent knowledge of weapons and combat equipment and skillfully employ them, correctly operate them, and maintain them in model condition; the struggle for acquiring and increasing ratings and for the title of Best Specialist has to be broadened. When the desire is there it is possible to obtain much more from weapons and combat equipment than they are designed for. And you have to be experts at your work and show what the weapons and combat equipment which the people is giving to you are capable of in skillfull hands.

It means, thirdly, that it is necessary to struggle for the honor, dignity, irreproachable behavior, and model appearance of soldiers, for compliance with the moral norms of behavior, and for a strengthening of military discipline and organization.

**L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol. 6, p 323.

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In brief, the struggle for efficiency and quality in the Armed Forces means for soldiers a struggle for the high title of excellent soldier in combat and political training and for excellent subunits, units, and ships. Make an effort, comrades, do not allow yourselves any indulgences in training, and act during exercises as if you were in a real battle!

In the socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October which has developed the personnel of the division has adopted high new commitments in the training of excellent units and subunits. Such commitments deserve approval and thorough support. Their realization will be a rather good gift for the holiday. But, of course, this puts a great responsibility upon you. In order for the commitments not to remain empty words on paper it is necessary to work much and stubbornly and to mobilize all of your strength and possibilities. Communists and komsomol members have to play a decisive role in this.

I am expressing my confidence that the guard-soldiers will honorably carry out their word which they have given to the homeland!

Comrades!

In conclusion I would like to remind you that you are on the front lines of the socialist commonwealth. Your service is taking place on the territory of a fraternal socialist country—the German Democratic Republic. The Central Committee of the Socialist United Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic have provided our forces with all of the necessary possibilities for successful combat training and are showing constant attention to our soldiers. Permit me on your behalf and for myself personally to express our deep gratitude for this!

Our reply to this concern must be a further strengthening of the combat collaboration with the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic. You operated at many exercises together with its units. This is an excellent school of socialist internationalism. Learn from one another. Help one another in a comradely way, share your knowledge and experience generously and strengthen and develop the fraternal combat alliance of our armies and peoples! Be worthy always and in everything of your great homeland and of its heroic people!

Taking the opportunity, I congratulate you, comrades, on Astronautics Day which is being celebrated today by our country. It is a big holiday for all Soviet people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people has achieved outstanding successes in mastering outer space and is persistently continuing to storm the cosmos. We are proud of the achievements of our homeland in carrying out its tremendous space program and we ardently wish Soviet scientists and astronauts new successes!

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Permit me to conclude with this and to wish that by the 60th anniversary of Great October you are among the number of the advanced units of our Armed Forces!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by stormy applause.)

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UNITY OF VIEWS, UNITY OF ACTION

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the personnel of an artillery regiment of the National People's Army of the ODR. 13 April 1977, pp 346-350]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Friends!

Permit me on behalf of the Soviet military delegation to express our profound gratitude to the Socialist United Party of Germany and to the Minister of National Defense of the GDR General of the Army Comrade Heinz Hoffman for providing us with the opportunity of visiting your regiment, meeting with its personnel, and acquainting ourselves with its life and combat training. We were deeply touched by the hospitality and attention which was shown to us by the command and by all of the regiment's soldiers.

We also express our sincere thanks for your warm words about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and about the Soviet people and its Armed Forces.

It gives me great satisfaction to carry out an honorable commission—to convey to you, dear comrades, and in your person to all of the soldiers of the National People's Army of the GDR the ardent greetings and best wishes of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev—an outstanding party, state, and military leader, a fiery fighter for peace, and a sincere friend of the people of the German Democratic Republic.

Our party, the Soviet people, and the soldiers of its Armed Forces greatly value the friendship and cooperation which unite the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. These relations did not develop by themselves; they have been organized and developed for many years by our communists, working class, by all of the workers of both countries, and by the soldiers of our armies. And we experience a feeling of profound satisfaction with the fact that today our friendship has become the cause of the broad

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popular masses, that between our countries there is a unity of views on all of the important problems of the present day, and that an atmosphere of sincerity, mutual respect, and comradely trust has developed in the relations between our peoples. This, comrades, is the solid foundation of our fraternal alliance. And the Soviet people is filled with determination to protect this alliance as something sacred and to constantly strengthen it.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist United Party of Germany—are the inspiring force of our close unity. Our friendship is eternal, as the great teaching Marxism-Leninism is eternal!

The power and fruitfulness of our alliance has been proven not in words, but by life itself. In a brief historical period the workers of the German Democratic Republic in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries have created a socialist state which possesses a developed economy and an advanced science and culture which provide extensive possibilities for a free and genuinely democratic life for all of the citizens. Socialism has produced splendid shoots on your land-the homeland of the founders of our revolutionary teaching--Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels!

The people of the German Democratic Republic are rightly proud today of their successes in the construction of a developed socialist society. Soviet people sincerely share this legitimate pride of their friends.

The German Democratic Republic occupies a solid place among the dozen most economically developed states of the world. But the most important achievement consists in the fact that a new laboring man has been formed in a society of victorious socialism and that a new generation of people with a communist world view and with firm internationalist views has grown up there.

The Soviet people is confident that under the firm leadership of their tested vanguard—the Socialist United Party of Germany—which is led by a true son of the working people, a prominent leader of the international communist movement, and a great friend of the Soviet Union Comrade Eric Honekker, the workers of the GDR will continue to successfully accomplish the enormous constructive tasks which have been mapped out by their 9th Party Congress!

Comrades! Speaking about our fruitful and comprehensive cooperation it is necessary to also emphasize the great effectiveness of the military cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. It serves as a vivid example of the realization of Lenin's ideas concerning a unification of the efforts of the socialist countries for the defense of the revolutionary gains of the proples and for ensuring a stable peace in the world. Our cooperation is an important element in the defensive alliance of the socialist countries—the Warsaw Pact.

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The National People's Army of the GDR occupies a worthy place in the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact. Thanks to the concern of the Socialist United Party of Germany, the government, and the entire laboring people of the GDR, it is a well-trained and equipped modern Army which possesses everything necessary to accomplish the most difficult tasks of the defense of its country and the protection of the historic gains of the socialist commonwealth. The strength of the National People's Army of the GDR is in its close connection with the workers, in its profound understanding of its goals and tasks, and in the firm leadership of its entire life and activities by the Socialist United Party of Germany.

The armies of our countries are marching in a single formation of the Armed Forces of the states of the socialist commonwealth. They provide one another with constant help in all of the fields of their life and activities and exchange experiences in combat training, political-educational work, and the achievements of military science and technology. A large role is played by joint exercises in which our soldiers learn the difficult and complex art of being victorious and strengthen their internationalist friendship. All of this is promoting a further increase in the combat readiness of our armies, an increase in their combat expertise, and a strengthening of their moral-political unity. Our friendship and unity is strong and indestructible. It is our sacred duty and obligation to protect and strengthen them.

As brothers in conviction, in class, and in arms, we are mutually and sincerely gladdened by our successes in strengthening the defense of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. Speaking here, we can say with full responsibility that the Soviet Armed Forces, guided by the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, are doing everything to always be up to the task facing them—to be a guard for the peaceful labor of Soviet people and a bulwark of world peace. We shall continue to protect as something sacred and constantly develop our combat friendship and our military cooperation!

Comrades! Like the other fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are successfully accomplishing the tasks of the construction of a new society. The past Congresses of our parties have summarized the results of the path we have covered and have defined the tasks which we are now accomplishing and will be accomplishing in the more distant future. The fact that our countries are accomplishing these tasks in close interaction makes them much easier and makes it possible for us to unite our knowledge, experience, and material and spiritual resources for the good of each people and in the name of the common interest of the entire socialist commonwealth.

The Soviet state has entered its anniversary year at the height of its power. Our people is preparing for a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with enormous creative

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energy. The results of the fulfillment of the plans of the first year and the three months of the second year of the 10th Five-Year Plan show that the progress adopted by the party in the field of economic development and a rise in the standard of living in the Soviet people is being successfully carried out. With each passing year the Soviet country is becoming increasingly powerful and is taking ever new steps along the path to communism—the bright future of all mankind.

Yesterday our country festively celebrated the 16th anniversary of the world's first space flight by Yuriy Alekseyevich Gagarin who blazed a trail into outer space. During the years which have passed since then dozens of space flights have been accomplished in the Soviet Union and every time they have been increasingly difficult. These flights testify to the high level of Soviet science and technology, to the creative energy and expertise of Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians, and workers, and to the valor and courage of our astronauts!

The German Democratic Republic is actively cooperating with the Soviet Union in the study and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. The Republic's scientists and specialists are taking part in the development and production of equipment for space studies and also in the preparation of spaceships and geophysical missiles for launching. At the present time astronauts from the socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, are being trained for space flights on Soviet spaceships.

Comrades! The realization of our tremendous plans for communist construction is inseparably connected with the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world. As a result of the efforts of the socialist countries, it has been possible to push back the threat of a nuclear war and to make peace more reliable and stronger.

But it would be a mistake not to take account of the fact that reactionary imperialist circles are continuing to pursue an aggressive course in relation to the socialist countries, are increasing the fighting potential of the armed forces of NATO, opposing the solution of important problems of international security, whipping up the arms race, and conducting material preparations for a new world war. "Attempts are being made," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "to weaken the socialist commonwealth and to undermine the unity of its participants by various means. Attempts are being made to weaken the socialist system."*

The representatives of the West are occupying clearly unrealistic positions at the Vienna negotiations on a reduction of weapons and armed forced in Central Europe and at the Soviet-American negotiations on a limitation of

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L.I. Brezhnev, "Pollowing Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 6, p 336.

strategic offensive weapons. Violating the principle of equal security, they are attempting to get one-sided advantages for themselves. Of course, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries cannot accept the conclusion of such an agreement with the Western powers.

The hostile actions of the enemies of peace cannot but alarm the socialist states. They demand great vigilance from us and a constant concern for strengthening our defense capacity and the fighting strength of the fraternal armies. The soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces understand this very well and are working strenuously on the accomplishment of the tasks of a further increase in their military expertise and combat readiness. They are doing and will continue to do everything necessary so that the combat alliance of the socialist countries will always be strong and indestructible!

Dear comrades!

Permit me once again to thank you for your warm reception and cordiality. When we return to our homeland we will convey to Soviet soldiers the feelings of great friendship of their German brothers in arms. The personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces sincerely and fraternally wishes you, dear friends, and in your person all of the soldiers of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic the greatest successes in your military labor and in your honorable service to your homeland and your people!

Long live the Socialist United Party of Germany and its Central Committee and Politburo led by the General Secretary of the CC Comrade Eric Honekker!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee and Politburo led by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

Long live the strong and indestructible unity of our mighty socialist commonwealth!

May the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic live eternally and grow stronger!

Long live the National People's Army of the GDR--the glorious creation of its people and a faithful guard over the gains of socialism!

Glory to the valorous Soviet Armed Forces -- a faithful guard for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and a bulwark of peace!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause.)

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CARRY THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM WITH HONOR

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the personnel of the units of the Central Group of Forces. 17 April 1977, pp 351-356]

[Text] Comrades!

Our military delegation is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Minister of Defense of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic General of the Army Comrade Martin Dzur. Together with our Czechoslovakian friends we are deciding important practical questions and acquainting ourselves with the life and combat training of the Czechoslovakian People's Army and with the labor deeds of the Czechoslovakian people. The chief goal of our visit is a further strengthening of the combat collaboration of our armies and peoples.

While we were on Czechoslovakian soil we, of course, could not but visit the Central Group of Forces in order to acquaint ourselves with the life and training of the personnel and to talk with the Soviet soldiers who are performing service on the front lines of the socialist commonwealth.

Permit me to carry out an honorable commission from the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council for Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--to convey to you his combat greetings and good wishes for successes in your combat and political training!

As a participant in the Great Patriotic War and an outstanding party and state leader who is constantly working on the problems of strengthening the country's defense, L. I. Brezhnev has a good knowledge of the life of the Soviet Army and our daily strenuous combat and political training is especially understandable for him.

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The Central Committee of the CPSU is constantly concerned for strengthening our Armed Forces. In his speech at the October (1976) Plenum of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said: "To continue to maintain the country's Armed Forces on a high level so that Soviet soldiers always have the most modern weapons with which the imperialists cannot but reckon—this is our duty to the people and we will carry it out religiously!"*

Soviet soldiers feel this concern of the party every day and are replying to it with high indicators in combat expertise and with a constant increase in their combat readiness.

Comrades!

The time in which we are living is noteworthy with events of historic importance. Our country is approaching the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which the entire people, the workers of the fraternal socialist states, and all of the progressive people of the earth are preparing to celebrate festively and extensively.

Under the banner of Great October the Soviet people have constructed developed socialism in a brief historical period and are now persistently realizing the decisions of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party which are aimed at a further development of the Soviet society, at increasing the economic and defensive strength of the homeland, and at improving the well-being of Soviet people.

Soviet people and the soldiers of the Armed Forces welcomed the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" with great patriotic enthusiasm. Following an appeal from advanced collectives, a national socialist competition has developed in the country for the successful fulfillment of the national economic plan of 1977 and for a worthy reception of the 60th anniversary of Great October. The chief element in the competition is a struggle for production efficiency and work quality.

Soviet soldiers who have developed a struggle for the title of best units in the Armed Forces have also actively joined in the competition.

The winter training period shows that the units and ships are achieving new successes in combat training, in the mastery of our complex military equipment, and in increasing combat readiness. The results which have been achieved make us confident that the socialist commitments which have been adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October will be successfully met by our Army and Navy.

Comrades!

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^{*} L. I. Brezhnev "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 6, p 169.

The Central Committee of the Party, the Politburo of the CC, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally are performing a large amount of strenuous work to realize the foreign policy program which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress. Thanks to these efforts, and also to the constant support of the other countries of the socialist commonwealth and of all of the progressive forces of the planet definite successes have been achieved in a relaxation of tensions. The principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems are receiving increasing recognition in international relations.

However, the most important thing that we have achieved in foreign policy is a further unification of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, a strengthening of their international positions and authority, and a strengthening of their influence on the development of the entire international situation. This, comrades, is a great success for the fraternal socialist countries and, first of all, for our Peace Program.

However, for us it is important to consider not only the positive sides of world development, but also that which is hindering the establishment of a durable peace in the world. The reactionary imperialist forces are the chief hindrance to this. They are not surrendering their positions, are not giving up their aggressive goals, are organizing anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns, spreading lies and slanders about our country and the other socialist states, and attempting to exacerbate the international situation and throw the world back to the times of the "Cold War."

The recent negotiations in Moscow between the leaders of our party and government and the American Secretary of State on a limitation of strategic offensive weapons showed that the new American administration is trying to move away from the previous agreement in Vladivostok and receive a one-sided advantage at the cost of the USSR. The Western countries are conducting negotiations in Vienna on a reduction of Armed Forces and armaments in Central Europe in the same spirit. It is clear that the Soviet Union will never accept such agreements.

As long as political forces which are hostile to peace and which are making the solution of vitally important international problems difficult continue to exist and act on our planet we are compelled to strengthen our defense and to strengthen the military Warsaw Pact. This is demanded by the security interests of the Soviet state and its allies.

The USSR Armed Forces play an important role in strengthening the defense capacity of the Warsaw Pact countries. They are continuously perfecting themselves on the basis of new weapons and combat equipment and a steady rise in the general educational and cultural levels and consciousness of Soviet soldiers. Today our Armed Forces, together with the fraternal socialist armies, are capable of standing against a military attack from any aggressor, and the imperialists are compelled to reckon with the hopelessness and senselessness of their calculations for a military victory over socialism.

Comrades! You are serving in the Central Group of Forces. Its units have been given the honorable duty of carrying the victorious banner of internationalism with honor and dignity and of strengthening our combat collaboration with the Czechoslovakian People's Army and our friendship and cooperation with the Czechoslovakian people.

The units which have been presented for our meeting have rich combat traditions. They covered an heroic combat path from the beginning to the end of the Great Patriotic War. It is a great honor, comrades, to serve in such glorious units. It is your duty to be proud of this and to preserve and further develop the heroic combat traditions of the older generations of Soviet people!

Comradesl

You have achieved rather good results in combat and political training. This reflects the great merit of your commanders, political workers, communists, komsomol members, and your entire personnel. But the results which have been achieved have to be regarded not as the summit of combat and political training, but as another new frontier for the further improvement of your military mastery.

During the process of becoming acquainted with your life and of talking with your soldiers, sergeants, and officers I, and our entire delegation also, received the conviction that you have all of the possibilities for a successful accomplishment of your tasks. The units are equipped with new equipment and have a good physical training base. But most important is that you have remarkable cadres, officers and sergeants who know their work, competent soldiers with initiative, and vital party and komsomol organizations. The task, consequently, is to organize your training in a real way and to mobilize yourselves for the achievement of new and higher indicators in combat and political training.

On what, in my view, should you concentrate your basic efforts? We find the answer to this question in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the October (1976) Plenum of the CC and in the speeches of L. I. Brezhnev in Tula and at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions. They emphasize the enormous importance of a struggle to improve the efficiency and quality of work. This applies in full to the Armed Forces. The very highest results have to be achieved in the training and education of the personnel by means of a clear and well-conceived organization of the training process, the skillful use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress in the training of the Army and Navy, a further increase in the effectiveness of party-political work, and the maintenance in the subunits and units of strict order in accordance with the regulations. It is important to discover new reserves for increasing the efficiency of combat and political training and to give thorough support to useful initiatives. Nor must the rich experience of the Great Patriotic War be forgotten.

Especial attention has to be given in combat training to tactics, an improvement of field and air training for the personnel, the ability to conduct decisive offensive actions, and the ability to stubbornly and actively defend oneself against the use of modern types of weapons.

It is necessary to learn to organize battles in localities, to master the art of delivering a powerful fire blow against the enemy, and to use an extensive maneuver, to master the most effective methods of the combat use of modern combat equipment, to ensure the constant and firm direction of the troops.

In gunnery training it is necessary to acquire solid practical skills in striking targets at various distances with the first shot, volley, or launch.

The technical training of the personnel is one of the indicators of the combat capacity of subunits and units. New and more modern equipment is being received and will continue to be received by the Central Group of Forces. This equipment has to be mastered to perfection and it is necessary to learn to make full use of its combat possibilities and to operate it correctly.

It has to be kept in mind that the power of a weapon can be effectively used in battle only if it is in skillful hands and combined with a high level of tactical training in the soldiers. For this reason, it is essential to continue to improve the practical skills of driving all types of combat vehicles and trucks and to teach driver-mechanics and the entire personnel camouflage movement, the competent selection of positions and use of the protective and camouflaging properties of an area on the field of battle, and skillful actions in march, pre-battle, and battle orders. Flyers, communications men, and other specialists also have to be experts at their work, have an excellent knowledge of equipment, and use it skillfully in battle. You are faced with important tasks in the field of the political-moral and psychological training of soldiers and of the formation in them of the ability and skill to act under the most difficult conditions of modern war. The basis of this training has to be made up by ideological education and a profound study of the materials and decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of other party documents.

Comrades!

You are serving on the territory of our fraternal Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic, carrying out your international duty to protect the gains of socialism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the government of the Czechoslovakian SSR have provided you with all of the necessary possibilities for successful combat training and are showing constant attention to you. We say our thanks to them for this.

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The entire personnel of the Group should also reply to this with a constant strengthening of friendship with the Czechoslovakian people and of combat cooperation with the soldiers of the Czechoslovakian People's Army. This friendship and combat cooperation is precious to us and they have to be valued highly. They were obtained in the struggle with the German fascist invaders during the years of World War II and soldered by blood spilled jointly on the fields of battle. Our friendship is a powerful factor in the economic and socio-political flowering of our states and in increasing their defensive strength.

Comrades!

The life and practical activities of the Soviet forces which are performing service outside of our homeland is constantly in the field of vision of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. They are carefully following your successes and achievements.

Permit me on your behalf to express profound thanks and gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo, and personally to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for their concern for our Armed Forces and to assure them that the personnel of the Central Group of Forces feels the greatest responsibility for the performance of its military duty and will make every effort to accomplish the tasks it has been given with honor and dignity!

I hope that your units will be among the advanced ones of the Armed Forces.

I wish you great successes in your military labor and in carrying out your socialist commitments in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by stormy applause.)

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THE INDISSOLUABLE TIES OF OUR FRATERNITY

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with the personnel of a motorized infantry regiment of the Czechoslovakian People's Army. 18 April 1977, pp 357-361]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Friends!

We are sincerely moved by the enthusiastic reception which was given to us by the personnel of your regiment and by the cordiality and hospitality with which the Soviet military delegation has been surrounded from the first minutes of its arrival among you.

From all of my heart I want to thank you for this friendly meeting and for the warm words which were said here about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and its heroic Armed Forces!

We are deeply grateful to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to the Minister of National Defense of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic General of the Army Comrade Martin Dzur for the opportunity which has been given to us to meet with your harmonious military collective, to become acquainted with its life and combat training, and to learn about your military deeds. And I have to say frankly that our stay in your regiment has given us all great satisfaction. One feels in everything that every soldier in the regiment knows his place in the collective very well and understands that his work is an extremely necessary part of the overall work to which the efforts of the Czechoslovakian people are devoted.

Permit me to carry out an honorable commission—to convey to you, dear commades, and in your person to all of the soldiers of the Czechoslovakian People's Army ardent greetings and the best wishes from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--an outstanding party, state, and military leader, a fiery fighter for peace and international security, and a sincere friend of the Czechoslovakian people.

Making use of the opportunity which has been given to me, I also convey to you and to the entire personnel of the Czechoslovakian People's Army combat greetings from the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces and their wishes for you for great successes in combat training and in strengthening the combat alliance of our armies and the armies of all of the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

Our stay in fraternal Czechoslovakia and in the units of the Czechoslovakian People's Army cannot but move us. Our peoples and armies are bound by an ancient friendship. It was tempered in joint battles against the German fascist invaders and soldered forever by blood spilled on the fields of battle. It is precious for us, Soviet people, that in the fire of the Slovak national uprising and in the battles on the legendary Dukla there was born the wonderful slogan of Czechoslovakian patriots: "With the Soviet Union for all time!"

Only a few days are left to the 32nd anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from fascist slavery. This is a holiday not only of the Czechoslovakian but also of the Soviet people whose lot it was to bear the basic weight of the war against the fascist aggressors. The celebration of this anniversary always turns into a demonstration of our fighting internationalist unity.

We were together during the year of stern war trials, and our bonds are indissoluable during peacetime also. It cannot be otherwise in relations between peoples which are united by a common ideology and by common goals of struggle. We, members of the great alliance of socialist countries, are bound by genuinely fraternal relations which have been built on the principles of socialist internationalism. There is practically no important sphere of activities for our parties and states where comprehensive Soviet-Czechoslovakian cooperation is not developing. We have the right to say today that our friendship is a genuinely disinterested friendship of peoples, the friendship of millions of people of labor. This is the great gain of our communist parties and their Leninist internationalist policy and of their common positions regarding all of the fundamental questions of the present day.

I want to assure you, dear comrades, that all of us, Soviet people, are full of determination to piously guard and strengthen our indestructible friendship. In our unity and in our friendship is the guarantee of further successes in the peaceful constructive labor of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian peoples and a guarantee of new victories in the historical struggle for the triumphof socialism and communism!

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The experience of history clearly bears witness to the strength and fruitfulness of the fraternal alliance of socialist countries. The years of
people's power in Czechoslovakia have been years of the development of its
economy, science, and culture. Your wonderful country is rightly regarded
as one of the most developed European states with a high and constantly
growing standard of living. We are confident that the socialist gains of
the Czechoslovakian people will be multiplied and strengthened.

We, the friends and allies of socialist Czechoslovakia, are sincerely gladdened by your successes in the construction of a developed socialist society and in accomplishing the tasks posed by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The steady growth of your economy, the political unity of society which is growing stronger from day to day, and the atmosphere of confidence in tomorrow—all of this is closely connected with the large organizational and political work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee which is led by the outstanding leader of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic, a glorious son of the Czechoslovakian people, a prominent leader of the international communist movement, and a true friend of the Soviet Union Comrade Gustav Husak!

Comrades! Our countries are important elements in the defense organization of the socialist participant states in the Warsaw Pact. For more than 20 years the Warsaw Pact and its United Armed Forces have been serving as a reliable bulwark for the peaceful labor of our fraternal peoples and as a decisive factor in protecting our socialist gains and in the struggle to strengthen world peace and international security.

The great Lenin taught that any revolution is only worth something if it knows how to defend itself. Remembering this statement by Lenin, the Communist Party and government of Czechoslovakia and the entire Czechoslovakian people are constantly showing concern for their Army. The Czechoslovakian People's Army occupies a worthy place in the combat alliance of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states. It is well-trained and equipped and has everything necessary to accomplish the most difficult tasks. The Czechoslovakian people place a high value on its Army and does not spare any efforts for its equipment and training to be up to modern demands. The power of the Czechoslovakian People's Army is in its unity with the people, in the nobility of its goals and tasks, and in the fact that all of its activities are led by the recognized vanguard of the Czechoslovakian people—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The close military cooperation between the USSR and the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic is also fostering the constant development and improvement of the Czechoslovakian People's Army. This is a vivid example of the realization of V. I. Lenin's ideas concerning the necessity for joint efforts by socialist states for a reliable defense of their revolutionary gains. Our countries and armies are generously sharing with one another weapons, experience in combat training and political-educational work, and military scientific achievements.

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We place a high value upon and sincerely are gladdened by the successes of the soldiers of the Czechoslovakian People's Army and are proud of the fact that in its person we have a true friend and reliable ally. Soviet soldiers see it as their duty to continue to do everything for a continuous strengthening of our unity, friendship, and close combat collaboration!

Our armies are marching in a single combat formation of the Armed Forces of the socialist states. And this unity and internationalist solidarity is as strong as a monolith and it cannot be destroyed by anyone ever!

Our soldiers have a solid knowledge of the fact that they are defending the most just system and the peace and happiness of peoples!

Comrades! We are the representatives of a great socialist country which is confidently building a communist society. The Soviet state has entered the 60th year of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is now living with the strenuous rhythm of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people is working on the realization of the historic decisions of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with enormous creative energy and is preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Great October in a worthy manner and with high production indicators. "Everything which has been planned by the party will be realized." This is the motto of every worker in our country.

The fact that the workers of the fraternal socialist countries have also joined in the socialist competition for a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October is giving rise to a feeling of enormous satisfaction in Soviet people. This international movement of millions upon millions of builders of the new world was called by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev a qualitatively new phenomenon in the relations between socialist countries and an initiative of enormous significance which has a great future.

The realization of the tremendous plans for socialist and communist construction is inseparably connected with the preservation and strengthening of peace. The results of the foreign policy efforts of the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic, and the other socialist countries are known to everybody. The most important thing is that we have succeeded in seriously strenghtening the foundations of the security of peoples and weakening the threat of war. These positive changes are above all the result of the favorable influence of world socialism, of its successes and power, on the course of international developments. They are the result of the purposeful policies of our Marxist-Leninist parties and of the states of the socialist commonwealth. The power of our fraternal armies is reliably serving the cause of the peace and security of peoples.

But it would be a mistake not to take account of the fact that there are still influential political circles in the capitalist world which do not like a relaxation of tensions. Enthusiasts for military adventures have still not disappeared on the other side of the ocean, or in Europe either.

They are whipping up the arms race and conducting material preparations for war. As contacts and negotiations have shown, instead of moving forward along the path of detente, the Western countries are losing their constructive approach and occupying a one-sided position. Yet, in order to restrain the arms race it is essential that not only we, but also the other side should be fully aware of its responsibility for this and seek mutually acceptable solutions not in words, but in deeds.

The hostile activities of the aggressive forces is demanding great vigilance from us and a constant concern for increasing the defense capacity of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and for strengthening the fighting strength and combat readiness of our armies. The soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces understand this well and are working on accomplishing the tasks of improving their military expertise and strengthening their combat readiness. By virtue of its very nature socialism is alien to war, but, if aggressors dare to encroach upon our frontiers, they will receive a resolute rebuff. Our armies are ready on any day and at any hour to defend the revolutionary gains of their peoples and of the entire commonwealth of socialist countries. We shall do everything so that the combat alliance of the socialist countries is always strong and indestructible!

Dear comrades!

Permit me once again to thank you all for myself and for my comrades for the hospitality and cordiality which you have shown to us, your friends from the country of Soviets!

We sincerely, as brothers, wish you and in your person all of the soldiers of the Czechoslovakian People's Army the greatest successes in your military labor and in your honorable service to your remarkable homeland and your people!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee led by the General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Comrade Gustav Husak which are confidently leading the Czechoslovakian people along the path of the construction of a developed socialist society!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee headed by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev which are confidently leading the Soviet people along the path of the construction of the bright future of all mankind—communism!

Long live the unity of our mighty socialist commonwealth!

May the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic live eternally and grow stronger!

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Clory to the Czechoslovakian People's Army and the Soviet Armed Forces!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause.)

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MAKE SKILLFUL USE OF KNOWLEDGE IN PRACTICE

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a reception in honor of the graduates of military academies in the Kremlin. 29 June 1977, pp 370-374]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Today is a festive and joyous day in the life of our higher military schools. They are giving the Army and Navy a new detachment of specialists with academy training. Along with Soviet officers, officers from friendly armies have also graduated from our military academies. With all my heart I congratulate you, comrade graduates, and the entire personnel of our military educational institutions on this important event.

It is with great satisfaction that I carry out a personal commission from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. He asked me to convey to you his sincere congratulations on your successful completion of your studies in our military academies and his wishes for great successes in your subsequent service.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers address ardent words of greetings to you.

Permit me, comrades, to assure on your behalf the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Chairman of the USSR Council for Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade L. I. Brezhnev that the officers who have graduated from our military academies during this anniversary year will give all of their strength, knowledge and energy to the noble cause of defending the great gains of socialism.

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Comrades! Graduation from a higher educational institution is always a memorable event in the life of a person. This event will leave a special mark upon your lives above all because it coincides with the time when the soldiers of our Army and Navy, together with our entire people, are realizing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and preparing a worthy celebration for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Like the entire Soviet people, the soldiers of our Armed Forces welcomed the results of the May (1977) Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft of the new USSR Constitution which was published in the press with a feeling of great inspiration and legitimate pride. They unanimously approve of the draft of the new Basic Law of our state and the theses and conclusions set forth in the report by the Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Soviet soldiers welcomed the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet with enormous joy.

Comrades I

Soviet people are engaged in peaceful constructive labor of an enormous scope. With their heroic labor they are making our homeland even richer and the life of our peoples even more beautiful and happier. The revolutionary process which was begun by Great October has led to the creation of international relations of a new type and to the formation of the world socialist system. Today, along with the Soviet Armed Forces, the armies of the fraternal socialist countries are vigilantly standing guard over peace.

Our party has been consistently and persistently coming out with a realistic and constructive program aimed at weakening international tensions and eliminating the danger of a world war. The just concluded visit to France by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was a new contribution to strengthening peace and international security. The documents which were signed as a result of this visit reflect the coordinated positions of the Soviet Union and France on a number of key international problems and, above all, in the struggle for peace, for the security of peoples, and for the prevention of a thermonuclear war.

The Soviet people and all of progressive mankind ardently approve of and support the Leninist peaceloving policy of the Central Committee of the party and its Politburo headed by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

Thanks to the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, the course and character of events on the world arena today are being increasingly determined by the process of detente. However, peace on the planet is still unstable. It is threatened by many dangers, and the chief one of them is the unceasing and

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growing arms race in the leading capitalist countries. This race is being whipped up by the poisonous propaganda of belligerent circles, the enemies of detente. They are instilling a war psychosis and sowing enmity and distrust among peoples and states.

Under these circumstances, while waging a consistent struggle for peace, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union along with the communist parties of the fraternal socialist countries is showing constant concern for the borders of the states of the socialist commonwealth to always be under reliable protection. It is the duty of the Armed Forces to the people, it is stated in the draft of the new USSR Constitution, to reliably defend their socialist fatherland and to be in constant combat readiness so as to guarantee an immediate rebuff to any aggressor. An important role in the accomplishment of this responsible task belongs to our officers who have received good ideological-political tempering and solid knowledge of the social, military, and special sciences in our academies and who now have to use this knowledge in practical work. And we are confident that you will accomplish this task with honor.

You will arrive in the forces at the concluding stage of this year's strenuous combat training. The results of the first half of the training year have demonstrated the increased combat expertise of the personnel. However, life is putting many new and difficult tasks before the Army and Navy. Their accomplishment will demand from you, as from the entire officer corps, not only knowledge, but also persistence, stubbornness, wide initiatives, and creativity. I would like to wish for you, dear comrades, that you will always be champions of the newest and most advanced in military affairs and that with your personal example of correct relations and behavior in work and in everyday life you will achieve a further strengthening of military discipline, organization, and order in the forces.

The chief riches of our Army is its remarkable personnel which is boundlessly devoted to the party and the people. For this reason, your primary task consists in persistently and purposefully, without sparing your strength or time, educating and training your subordinates, showing fatherly concern for them, and penetrating into their needs and demands.

Everything that makes up the pride, power, and glory of our Army is inseparably connected with the wise leadership of the Communist Party. The Army and Navy party organizations cement our military collectives and mobilize them for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of combat and political training. In your work to train and educate the soldiers you have to constantly base yourself on the party and komsomol organizations and take active part in public political life. A leader who works in isolation from the masses cannot expect success.

No matter how deep and many-sided the knowledge you have obtained in the academies may be, you must not be satisfied with what you have achieved. It is necessary to constantly move forward, to enrich your knowledge with

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the new achievements of military science and practice, to expand your horizons, and to raise your political and cultural levels.

An improvement of the efficiency and quality of military work is one of the chief conditions for the successful accomplishment of our tasks. To struggle for efficiency and quality in the Army and Navy means, first, to reliably ensure the constant combat readiness of the Army and Navy and their ability under any circumstances to successfully carry out a mission. It means, secondly, to know your weapons and combat equipment to perfection, to maintain them in a model manner, and to make skillful use of them. It means, thirdly, to thoroughly improve the quality and efficiency of the entire process of the training and education of soldiers and to achieve a high level of discipline and organization in them in the accomplishment of their tasks.

Thus, for every Soviet soldier the struggle for efficiency and quality has a concrete content and a clear goal--to have an excellent knowledge of your work and be an unshakable defender of your great homeland.

The General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has repeatedly emphasized that the lessons of the past call us to vigilance. Remembering this order, we are obliged to constantly increase our political vigilance and the combat readiness of our units and ships, regarding this as a crucial factor which is restraining the imperialist aggressors.

Comrades!

Our party is showing constant concern for the training of highly qualified officer cadres and for our military schools. Thanks to this concern, with each passing year the quality and level of the training of our officers and generals and admirals rises, and the number of graduates with a higher education, including in the new auspicious specialties, grows. The physical training base of our military educational institutions is being improved. Great credit here belongs to the faculties whose knowledge and experience are rightly called the basic capital of the Soviet military higher school. Permit me to sincerely congratulate all of the faculties of our academies with the successful graduation of a new detachment of military specialists and to express my profound thanks to them for this noble work.

The interests of a further increase in the combat strength of the Armed Forces demand from the leadership of the military educational institutions and from their faculties a persistent improvement of the organization of the training and education of the students and a bold introduction into the process of training of everything new that has been engendered by military thought and the training experience of the forces. Teaching methodology has to be thoroughly improved and more effective use has to be made of every minute of instructional time.

Scientific research work has to be broadened in the academies, the changes which are occurring in our Armed Forces and in foreign armies have to be studied more profoundly, and the development of military affairs has to be forecasted and the instructional process improved on this basis.

Permit me once again to ensure the Central Committee of our party that the graduates of our military academies will with their selfless labor increase the glorious traditions of the officer corps of the Soviet Armed Forces.

I wish you, dear comrades, new successes in this great and important work!

Long live the heroic Soviet people--the builder of the world's first communist society!

Long live the glorious victories of the Soviet Armed Forces!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the peoples and armies of the countries of the socialist commonwealth!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the tested vanguard of the Soviet people!

(The reception took place in a warm and sincere atmosphere. Its participants welcomed the greetings of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers with enormous inspiration. Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by stormy applause.)

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AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN STRENGTHENING THE COMBAT READINESS OF THE FORCES

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal. of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with leading athletes and trainers of the USSR Armed Forces--participants in the Fourth Summer Spartakiad of the Friendly Armies. 1 October 1977, pp 375-378]

[Text] Comrades!

Permit me to warmly welcome you, participants in the Fourth Summer Spartakiad of Friendly Armies, and to congratulate you on the athletic results you have achieved. Your athletic achievements are merging with the labor feats of the Soviet people, are promoting the growth of the international authority of the Soviet state, and are creating glory for our great homeland and its valorous Armed Forces.

The Soviet people is in a good and joyous mood. Every Soviet person is getting ready to festively celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with patriotic labor deeds and approves of and supports the draft of the Basic Law of our State--the new USSR Constitution--with enthusiasm and pride. All of the achievements of the Soviet people convincingly testify to the fact that the magnificent program of social and economic transformations which was mapped out by the 25th CPSU Congress are successfully being realized.

The USSR Armed Forces are reliable sentries for the peaceful labor of Soviet people. The servicemen of our Army and Navy are doing everything to come to the 60th anniversary of Great October with new successes in strengthening their combat readiness and in accomplishing their tasks in combat and political training. The Armed Forces are now concluding the 1977 training year. We can boldly say that it has become an important stage in improving the quality of combat training and the efficiency of military labor.

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It is, of course, well known to you that physical training and sports are an important factor in strengthening the combat capacity of our forces and in maintaining them in constant high combat readiness. Regular work and physical training in sports helps us to strengthen the morale-psychological and physical tempering of our soldiers the demands upon which have now substantially increased. Morale and psychological stability and a high level of physical endurance are now the same kinds of powerful weapons for Soviet soldiers as the most menacing military equipment.

The Communist Party and its Central Committee led by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is showing constant concern for the comprehensive and harmonious development of Soviet citizens. They are devoting a great deal of attention to physical culture and sports, regarding them as most important means of communist education and of strengthening the health of Soviet citizens and of preparing them for creative labor in the defense of our homeland. The problems of the physical education of Soviet man have found a vivid reflection in the draft of the new USSR Constitution where it is stated that the right to recreation is ensured, in particular, by the development of mass sports, physical culture, and tourism.

The Soviet sports movement has achieved remarkable successes. Physical culture and sports are occupying an ever growing place in the lives of every Soviet family. Tens of millions of Soviet citizens, young and old, are successfully passing the norms for the GTO[Ready for Work and Defence]insignia. More than 50 million people are regularly engaged in various sports sections and groups. All of this has become possible thanks to a rise in the level of the material well-being and of the culture of Soviet people, a strengthening of the material base of physical culture and sports, and an increase in state appropriations for their development.

The genuine mass nature of sports is a wide and strong base for the development of first-class masters who are successfully performing at the most responsible international competitions. More than 3,000 gold medals have been won during the postwar years by USSR athletes at world and European championship competitions and at other major competitions.

The sportsmen of the USSR Armed Forces are making an important contribution to the general successes of the Soviet sports movement. Army basketball players, volleyball players, gymnasts, wrestlers, and Navy yacht sailors have been successful this year at many responsible competitions. The sportsmen of the Army and Navy have already been able to win 137 gold, silver, and bronze awards which comprises 36 percent of the total number of medals received by Soviet sportsmen in this year's competitions.

The performances by our sportsmen at the Fourth Summer Spartakiad of Friendly Armies in Cuba were no less successful. We are especially gladdened by the results which were demonstrated in the applied military types of sports. However, while speaking about the generally good results

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achieved by Army sports, we cannot ignore the shortcomings. In a number of sports, including such important ones as light athletics, soccer, swimming, and academic rowing the mastery of Army and Navy sportsmen is developing slowly and their results lag behind the international class level. The reasons for the lagging in these types of sports, I believe, are contained above all in shortcomings in the training and educational process, in the small workloads at training sessions, and in a lack of the necessary personal responsibility on the part of sportsmen and of pride in their club and in all of Army sports.

The leading Army and Navy sportsmen have a most responsible trial in front of them--the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow--which they already have to prepare for with all of their strength.

The Ministry of Defense has a task--to prepare for 1980 a large number of sportsmen who are candidates for our country's teams and for its reserve. This is very responsible work, comrades! Permit me to express the hope that this task will not only be completely accomplished by the Armed Forces and by all of the sportsmen of our Army and Navy, but will also be overfulfilled and with high quality.

The successful accomplishment of this task will demand strenuous work by commanders and political workers, sportsmen, their trainers, and scientific and medical workers.

The sports committees of the Ministry of Defense, the military districts, the groups of forces, the anti-aircraft defense districts, the fleets, and the Central Army Sports Club and Central Sports Club of the Navy will have to improve the organization of training work with sportsmen, raise the methodological level of exercises, devote much more attention to the training of young sportsmen, and introduce scientific recommendations and advanced experience more extensively into practice. The commands of the districts and fleets have to show greater interest in the work of their sports clubs and provide them with comprehensive help.

Work also has to be constantly done on further increasing the moral-will and psychological stability of sportsmen. We have to see to it that every Army and Navy sportsman and, in the first place, candidates for the country's team is distinguished by high moral-will qualities, piously fulfills the moral code of the builder of communism, and is imbued with a feeling of the greatest responsibility for the authority of his Soviet homeland and for its athletic honor. It is essential to further develop in our sportsmen a lofty feeling of Soviet patriotism and of socialist internationalism and to inculcate in them persistence in the achievement of a goal and the ability to struggle under all, even the most difficult conditions. The Army and Navy sportsman must always act with enthusiasm and with a will to victory, endeavoring to demonstrate all of his mastery.

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Their active participation in public political life and in the accomplishment of all of the tasks which face their subunits, units, and ships is a guarantee of the cultivation and development in our sportsmen of lofty moral-will and psychological qualities.

Permit me, comrades, once again to congratulate you all with the successes you have achieved at the Fourth Summer Spartakiad of Friendly Armies, to thank you for your great patriotic labor, to wish you new high results in improving your mastery and in the further development of physical culture and sports in the Armed Forces, and to wish you new victories in sports for the glory of our great fatherland.

All the best to you, dear comrades!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

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IN MEMORY OF MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION A.M. VASILEVSKIY

D.F.USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a mourning meeting on Red Square. 8 December 1977, pp 400-401]

[Text] Dear comrades!

With a feeling of profound grief the Soviet people and the soldiers of our Army and Navy are today accompanying on his last trip an outstanding Soviet military leader, one of the active builders of the USSR Armed Forces, the twice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of the Soviet Union Alexander Mikhaylovich Vasilevskiy.

We are saying farewell to a true son of the Communist Party, a prominent military leader, and a Hero of the Great Patriotic War who is covered in glory.

The life of Alexander Mikhaylovich Vasilevskiy is a vivid example of selfless loyalty to the party and people and of self-sacrificing service to the cause of the armed defense of our socialist homeland. After the Great October Socialist Revolution Alexander Mikhaylovich bound up his fate forever with the Soviet Army in whose ranks he traversed a great and glorious combat career.

He actively participated in the struggle against the foreign Interventionists and the White gangs, showing personal courage and valor in the battles with the enemies of the young Republic of Soviets. After the Civil War, while performing command and headquarters work, he showed himself to be a skillful organizer of the training and education of Soviet soldiers.

His qualities as a military chief showed themselves with a special vividness during the stern years of the Great Patriotic War.

A profound knowledge of military affairs, a wide operational horizon, an ability to correctly evaluate a situation and foresee the development of events, and firmness in the execution of decisions which had been made

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advanced him into the ranks of our outstanding Soviet military leaders.

While working in the responsible posts of chief of the Operations Administration, chief of General Headquarters, a member of Headquarters of the Supreme Commander, and of commander of a front and commander and chief of the Soviet forces in the Far East, Alexander Mikhaylovich Vasilevskiy put a great deal of labor, creativity, and energy into organizing the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan.

His name is connected with the development and realization of such very large operations as the Stalingrad and Kursk battles, the liberation of Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic States, and the defeat of the German fascist forces in East Prussia and of the Japanese Kwantung Army.

During the postwar years Alexander Mikhaylovich continued to do a great deal of work on strengthening the defensive strength of our Soviet state. He occupied the high post of Chief of General Headquarters, Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces, and USSR War Minister.

In all of the posts at which the party placed him he invariably showed great responsibility for his work, uncommon creative abilities and initiative, and exactingness and responsiveness to people. With this he won the great love and profound respect of the soldiers of the Armed Forces and of the entire Soviet people.

Alexander Mikhaylovich Vasilevskiy participated actively in the country's public political life, was a delegate to a number of party Congresses, several times a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and was twice elected a member of the CC CPSU.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state placed a high value upon the outstanding services of Marshal. of the Soviet Union A. M. Vasilevskiy. He was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, was awarded eight Orders of Lenin and many other orders, and also USSR medals and the orders and medals of a number of socialist and other countries. The awarding to him of two "Victory Orders" was a recognition of his services as a military leader.

In this hour of grief, as we bid farewell to Alexander Mikhaylovich, we express the deepest condolences to his family, relatives, and friends. The Soviet Armed Forces are lowering their battle standards to the bright memory of an outstanding military leader, a fiery patriot, and a true son of our Leninist Party and Soviet people. The bright image of Alexander Mikhaylovich Valilevskiy will always be preserved in our hearts.

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IN THE INTERESTS OF INCREASING COMBAT READINESS

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Se. cted Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at an all-army conference to improve the life of the forces. 20 December 1977, pp 402-412]

[Text] Comrades!

The entire Soviet people is living and working under the inspiring influence of the ideas and decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the extraordinary 7th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which adopted the new Constitution of the Soviet Union. This historic document reflects the results of the enormous revolutionary transforming work of the party and people after the victory of Great October and shows the prospects for further communist construction.

The magnificent accomplishments of our people on its path to communism fill the heart of every Soviet person with a feeling of pride in the wisdom and far-sightedness of the party of Lenin which leads us from victory to victory. The Soviet people has come to the glorious 60th anniversary of Great October monolithically unified around its Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the CC led by the General Secretary of the CC of the party and a true Leninist Comrade L. I. Brezhney.

The socialist competition by our workers for improved efficiency and quality in all of the sectors of communist construction which has developed in the country has produced great positive results. The Soviet people is successfully completing the fulfillment of the plan of the second year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. New and even more impressive prospects for economic and social development were mapped out by the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the party and the 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Soviet people are filled with a firm confidence that the tasks which were set by the 25th Party Congress to increase the economic and defense might of our homeland will be fulfilled.

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The achievements of the Soviet people and of all of the peoples of the fraternal socialist states in the construction of a new society, the further strengthening of the socialist commonwealth, and the peace-loving foreign policy which is consistently and persistently being pursued by them are having a decisive influence on the course of world events. The number of supporters of detente and of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is becoming ever larger.

However, the aggressive forces are not stopping their activities. They are continuing to increase the arms race which is taking on an increasingly dangerous character, are creating new types of weapons, and are attempting to regenerate the spirit of the "Cold War." Under these conditions, while it is pursuing a peace policy, our party is vigilantly keeping a watch over the intrigues of the belligerent circles, and devoting constant attention to strengthening the defense capacity of the country and increasing the fighting strength of our Armed Forces.

On the basis of the increased economic possibilities of our state, during the anniversary year the Soviet Army and Navy continued to be equipped with modern weapons and combat equipment. Their field, air, and sea training was perfected. The successful accomplishment of the Army's and Navy's tasks was promoted by the high political activeness of the personnel which was elicited by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and the extensive socialist competition for a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A large role was played by the organizational work of the military councils, the commands, the political agencies, and the party organizations of the units.

The new training year which has begun in the Armed Forces is an important one. On 23 February 1978 the entire Soviet people and its soldiers and the progressive forces of the world will festively celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. It is an absolute duty of our soldiers to come to this wonderful anniversary with high indicators in all of the fields of our life and of combat training.

Comrades!

Thanks to the constant concern of the party, its Central Committee, and personally of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the living conditions of soldiers of our Armed Forces are constantly improving.

In recent years many military towns have seen the construction of modern and fully improved barracks, officers' houses, dining rooms, medical points, tea-rooms, stores, clubs, libraries, and other facilities which make it possible to improve the life of servicemen and their families. The soldiers of the Armed Forces have been supplied with good uniforms and are receiving high-calorie food. Cultural, medical, and trade services for them have been improving from year to year.

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In summarizing the results of the work which has been done and in mapping out the ways to further improve the living arrangements of the personnel of the Army and Navy, we should proceed from the fact that ensuring a high level of combat readiness in the units and ships and the level of military discipline and organization in them is directly connected with satisfying the everyday living needs of people.

This connection is especially visible at the present time. Military technical progress has radically changed the organizational structure of the Army and Navy, the relationship between the various branches of the Armed Forces and the arms and services, and the methods of employing them in combat, and has made higher demands upon the individual and upon his morale and physical qualities. The working conditions of people in the various military specialties have undergone a fundamental change.

Take, for example, the personnel of the sentry shifts of the Strategic Missile Forces and Anti-Aircraft Forces. They perform their combat watch at their positions and at command points around the clock. The combat training of flyers in the Air Force who make flights on supersonic aircraft has become more complex. The crews of our submarines live and work under unusual circumstances during their underwater cruises of many days.

The Land Forces have undergone a qualitative change. Whereas two to three decades ago their basis was made up of the infantry equipped only with rifles, today in increasing number of its personnel deals with tanks, infantry combat vehicles, armored transporters, missile launchers, and other combat equipment.

Large changes have also occurred with the personnel of the Armed Forces. The proportion of officers, warrant officers, and michmen has increased. Young reinforcements with a higher level of general and cultural development are coming into the Army and Navy.

All of this is demanding a completely different approach to the tasks of material and medical support and cultural services for the personnel. What is the essence of these new demands and what are the ways of meeting them?

The first and most important thing to which attention has to be paid is housing and barrack construction. Above all, it is necessary to build more and better apartments for the officers, warrant officers, michmen, and workers and employees of the Soviet Army and Navy. Moreover, the quality of the housing has to be in keeping with the demands not only of today, but also of tomorrow. The layout of the apartments, their interior finish work, and the municipal conveniences in them have to be on the level of the increased needs of Soviet man, regardless of where this housing is being built: in the central area, in the southern, eastern, or northern regions of the country, in a city or far away from one. Especial concern has to be shown for officer dormitories. They have to be models of high culture

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and domestic services.

New demands are also being made upon the present-day barracks. Even the very name--barracks-has probably already become obsolete. And if this word is still in use, this is rather a tribute to the past. During the years of Soviet power along with the development of the Army and Navy, the function of the barracks has also changed. It has become a place for the rest and cultural leisure of the soldiers and a center for educating them in the spirit of communist communal living. However, it has to be admitted that in the construction of today's military complexes conservatisism in the planning of housing for soldiers and sailors is making itself felt.

Last year and this year I had occasion to visit a number of units of the groups of forces and military districts. And I must say that far from all of our barracks make a good impression. The old and conservative view of the barracks has to be rejected more decisively and we have to approach the solution of the problems of construction in military settlements more boldly and from more progressive positions.

The layout of sleeping quarters has to undergo the largest changes. Common rooms for a company (battery) or even for a batallion (division) with two tiers of beds in them are hardly advisable now. The necessity has probably come for placing people in smaller subunits--platoons, combat crews, and watch shifts.

Small sleeping quarters plus conveniences in the form of hot water, showers, and round-the-clock dryers, and also standardized furniture which is made with taste will create better conveniences for people and turn the barracks into a modern cultured soldiers' dormitory. Such dormitories should begin to be built first of all in those units whose personnel is performing service under difficult conditions and is especially in need of well organized rest and domestic conveniences.

There also has to be a fundamental solution of the problem of the construction of military towns. You can frequently encounter military towns in our country in which the technical territories and the barracks zones are not set off from the residential houses. As a result of this, the appearance of the military town is lost.

Military town complexes for the units of the various branches of the Armed Forces should be built with regard to the prospects for equipping these units with new types of weapons and of a possible change in the conditions of service of the personnel.

It is necessary to accelerate the development of general plans and standard plans for military towns in which account would be taken of the specific nature of the service and of the tasks of combat and political training, the special climatic characteristics, and the organization of food, medical,

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and cultural services for the personnel, and the towns should then be built according to these plans. In any case, this problem has to be solved more rapidly and in a fundamental manner.

In speaking about the construction of apartments for officers and their families and of barracks for the personnel and of other facilities, attention has to be paid to the creation of the necessary conditions for everyday life, rest, eating, and other conveniences for servicemen who are performing work and assignments away from their units at airfields, testing grounds, and in other places.

Matters have to be organized in such a way that under all conditions soldiers will have a place to get warm or to get out of the heat, a place where it is possible to eat in a normal way, to spend free time in a cultural manner, and if necessary, also for instructive exercises. The units have to have well equipped mobile units, and quarters which can be assembled and disassembled which have been manufactured by industry.

As you see, quite a few large tasks have to be accomplished in the field of housing and barracks construction.

The quality of food has a great influence on the state of the health, the mood, and the ability to work of the personnel. Another step forward also has to be taken in the near future in improving it. We have all of the objective conditions for this: the necessary material and technical base for the food service has been created in the Army and Navy and a stable supply system is in operation which makes it possible to regularly and uninterruptedly supply the units and ships with high quality food.

In order to completely accomplish the task of improving the quality of food it is necessary to continue to build new dining rooms and equip them with modern equipment and refrigerators which will make it possible to mechanize and automate the processing of food and the process of preparing it.

At the same time, a large amount of organizational work is required from the military councils, commanders, political agencies, and party and komsomol organizations to improve the personnel's food. For it is possible to have good food and modern dining room and kitchen equipment, but food can be cooked tastelessly and served in a poor quality manner. For this reason, constant control has to be exercised by unit and ship officials over the organization of the feeding of our soldiers.

Kitchen and subsidiary plots, and, especially, greenhouses are an important reserve for improving the quality of food. In order to expand them more effective use has to be made in all of the units of food wastes, the heat of boiler rooms, and vacant lands.

The organization of the feeding of the personnel at training exercises,

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field exercises, and on marches has to become a subject of especial concern. If during the course of exercises normal feeding has not been ensured for the soldiers, sergeants, and officers, especially hot food, this means that the rear subunits and rear services have a low combat readiness and have not coped with their tasks. This is the way this matter has to be looked upon and evaluated.

The solution of the problems of feeding at exercises requires a deeper study of the work experience of the rear subunits during the Great Patriotic War and its introduction with regard to the modern rear-echelon material and technical base. We have to arrange matters in such a way that a failure to supply hot food during peacetime becomes a completely impermissible phenomenon.

Unfortunately, cases can still be met--not only at exercises, but also in everyday life--when the necessary attention is not devoted to the organization and quality of food for soldiers, seamen, sergeants, and warrant officers. Such abnormal facts cannot be tolerated. Those officials who are supposed to constantly show concern for their subordinates have to be called strictly to account.

Fatherly concern for the needs of one's subordinates and a maximum satisfaction of their needs—this is the high and responsible duty of every commander and political worker and of all of the officers of the rear. It should always be remembered, and it is not superfluous to repeat it, that a person's mood and his health and ability to work are determined to a large extent by his living arrangements and the quality of his food.

The maintenance of soldiers with good appearance is of great importance in the domestic services for the personnel of the Army and Navy. One can judge from the appearance and neatness of servicemen...the appearance of a soldier is a reflection of his inner being and an indicator of his ability and readiness to carry out his duty to the homeland. It is not accidental that the people say: "A slovenly soldier is bad in ranks and even worse in battle."

A great deal of attention has always been devoted to outfitting the personnel of the Army and Navy. Quite a bit has been done in this respect recent times, and in the next few years it has planned to carry out a number of new measures. They will make it possible to improve many of the articles of the uniforms of various functions, to unify them, and to make them more comfortable for wearing under every day and field conditions.

A model appearance for servicemen is determined not only by the quality of the material and the tailoring of their uniforms, but also by how the personnel has been taught to wear them, to take care of them, and always to maintain them in good condition. No matter where a Soviet soldier may be—at exercises, on leave, or at economic work—he must everywhere evoke respect for himself with his appearance and his neatness. This obliges the

officers to make constant and judicious demands upon themselves and their subordinates.

Yet, the facts show that in a number of places these demands are not made. This is probably the explanation of the fact that, despite a substantial improvement in recent times of the material and technical base of the Army and Navy services, in a number of units the appearance of servicemen, especially enlisted men, leave something better to be desired. The task is while continuing to show concern for providing servicemen with high quality uniforms, to achieve their model appearance.

The safeguarding and strengthening of the health of our soldiers has to be a subject of constant concern for commands, political agencies, headquarters, and rear-echelon workers.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "among our social tasks there is no more important one than concern for the health of Soviet people."*

As a result of our profound socio-economic transformations, public health care in our country has achieved large successes. The party and government are devoting great attention to strengthening the health of the personnel of the Army and Navy. For, no matter how abundantly the Armed Forces are supplied, the basis of their high combat readiness is people who have mastered their weapons and combat equipment to perfection and who are boundlessly devoted to their homeland and party and people and who have been well conditioned morally and physically.

A system of measures to strengthen the health of Soviet soldiers is being carried out in the Army and Navy. As a result, the absolute majority of our enlisted men are well developed physically and are in good health. It is necessary to continue to provide normal hygienic conditions for the life and combat training of our servicemen.

I would like to say a few words here about the role of preventive measures in strengthening the health of soldiers. Strict hygienic control over the life of our soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and warrant officers in combination with well organized conditioning and physical training is the true path to always keeping the personnel in combat ranks. This necessitates a wider use of the richest experience of our doctors and physical culture and sports directors and the development and introduction into the life of the forces of health strengthening methods and programs.

In accordance with the decree of the CC CPSU and Council of Ministers "On Measures to Further Improve Public Health Care" an overall program for the development of medical services has been mapped out. Its realization is the work not only of medical people, but of all of our commanders,

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^{*}L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 5, p 494.

political agencies, and workers of our rear-echelon services.

Existing medical institutions have to be expanded and new ones built more rapidly, especially buildings for regimental medical points, their equipment has to be improved, and preventive treatment work has to be improved. Measures have to be taken to solve the problem of medical services for generals and officers in retirement and for the members of their families.

In a word, in order to maintain and strengthen the health of people a well organized medical service is required, and we have to give daily attention to this.

Military trade plays a considerable role in providing everyday material support for the personnel. Thanks to the concern of the party for a constant rise in the well-being of the workers, the material abundance of Soviet people is growing from year to year. The production of various light and food industry goods and cultural and domestic articles is undergoing an important increase in our country. For this reason, servicemen are making justified demands upon the agencies of military trade for a fuller satisfaction of their purchasing demands.

Attributing importance to the development and improvement of trade, in July 1977 the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a special decree in which they defined the concrete ways of developing trade and its material and technical base and outlined measures to improve the operating network of stores, dining rooms, and warehouses and to improve the standard of services. Unfortunately, military trade is not organized as it should be in all places. There are still military units where there are no stores, soldiers' and sailors' tea-rooms, and garment and repair work shops. In a number of garrisons trade and domestic enterprises are located in poorly adapted premises and there are not enough warehouses, refrigerators, and fruit and vegetable storage units.

Yet, the funds which are allocated to the branches of the Armed Forces and to the military districts for the construction of trade and domestic enterprises are not being fully utilized. When residential blocs are built trade and domestic enterprises are the last on the list to be built.

Residential houses have to be built and other facilities have to be erected, but one must not forget about the construction of trade and domestic enterprises which are essential for ensuring the normal life of officers, warrant officers, michmen, their families, and all servicemen. It is necessary to change the attitude toward military trade and ensure the punctual construction and normal operations of trade and domestic enterprises in military towns.

There are quite a few shortcomings in the organization of the work of the military trade organizations. In a number of stores there are interruptions in the sale of individual goods and violations of the rules of trade.

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In certain public catering enterprises food is prepared monotonously and does not taste good. The standard of services is not high in all places.

These shortcomings are especially intolerable in those units and garrisons which are located in remote areas where there are no other state trade and domestic enterprises. Well-organized trade and domestic services for military units and garrisons is a matter of honor for the workers of military trade. There has to be a more demanding approach to the work of local enterprises, an attentive and sensitive attitude toward satisfying the needs of military customers has to be demanded from their directors, and the standard of services has to be sharply improved.

A strengthening of the Army (ship) economy and the strict realization of a regimen of economy and thrift occupy an important place in improving the everyday life of the Army and Navy.

Our party has always devoted and continues to devote a great deal of attention to economizing and thrift, regarding them as a reserve for increasing production efficiency and accelerating the economic growth of our country. "Great importance is being acquired," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "by an economy of raw materials, materials, fuel, and electric energy and by a thrifty attitude toward equipment.... Perhaps at each individual plant or kolkhoz a regimen of economy will yield hundreds or thousands of rubles, but on the scale of the entire economy this will come to many hundreds of millions or even billions."**

The same can be said about a regimen of economy and thrift in the Army and Navy and about the contribution of each unit and each ship to economizing in the Armed Forces as a whole.

The military councils of the branches of the Armed Forces, of the military districts, groups of forces, fleets, and armies and flotillas, and the commanders and chiefs of the political agencies of units have to activate the work to strengthen a recimen of economy and to make the most efficient use of material, labor, and financial resources.

Comrades!

The problems of improving the everyday life of the forces have to be solved not only from a purely material point of view which, of course, is of great importance. But it is no less important to skillfully organize education and cultural services for the personnel. You can have good soldiers' dormitories and Lenin rooms, but if ideological-educational and mass cultural work is not well organized in them, the life of the forces will be colorless and one-sided and will not be fully satisfying. This will unquestionably

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^{**} L. I. Brezhnev, op.cit., Vol 3, p 265.

be reflected in the political condition and morale of the forces and, in the final analysis, in the quality of their combat and political training.

Remember Lenin's words to the effect that "where political work is performed with the greatest care in the forces...there you have no sloppiness in the Army, there its organization and spirit is better, and there are more victories there."*** These words were said during the Civil War. But they have not lost their importance today. Matters have to be organized in such a way that party life is full and exciting in every subunit, unit, and ship. Its influence has to be directed both toward ensuring the combat watch and service of the forces and the accomplishment of training missions and at improving the everyday life of the personnel. There is a wide field of activity here for party organizations. If they will take an intolerant attitude toward any instances of poor arrangements or supplies for people, then the funds and possibility will be found for organizing the everyday life of Soviet soldiers in such a way as is demanded by our regulations and orders and is demanded by the Central Committee of the party.

We have to constantly be concerned for making every barracks and soldiers' tea-room a center of cultural and educational work, for always having fresh newspapers and magazines there, for making it possible to watch a television program or listen to a soldier's amateur concert there, hold talks there, have technical competitions, and other interesting measures.

In solving the problems of everyday material support for the forces it is always necessary to see the chief thing—the purpose for which we are doing all of this work. This purpose is to ensure high combat readiness in its broad meaning. Everything that promotes the attainment of this purpose has to be used in full measure, and whatever hinders it has to be resolutely eliminated.

Comrades!

Our conference has come to an end. I would like to say that during it we have held a large and very important and useful conversation. I think that it will make it possible to accelerate the solution of many of the problems of an improvement of everyday material support and cultural services for the forces.

Quite a few interesting proposals were made at the plenary meetings and at the sections. We shall make a careful study of them and try to realize everything useful.

The successful accomplishment of the tasks which were discussed at the

*** V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 39, p 56.

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conference will be greatly helped by a rise in the organizational level and responsibility of the leadership in all of the elements of the Army and Navy, a strengthening of control over the fulfillment of the regulations and orders, a further strengthening of discipline, and an even wider development of socialist competition, to which the decree of the recent Plenum of the CC CPSU obliges us.

It is essential to improve the style of all of our economic work and to achieve the highest efficiency for it. We, the leaders, must act as an example in this. Commanders, political workers, and the workers of the rear-echelon services—these are not simply people who are defending their posts, but active transmitters of the party's policies in our Armed Forces, including in the field of economic construction in them. The party and the government have given us great rights and authorities and entrusted us with leading Army and Navy collectives. These rights and this trust have to be fully balanced by responsibility.

The party's and government's measures to improve the everyday life of soldiers have to be backed up by good on-the-spot organizational work and by an endeavor to uncover reserves and to direct the creative energy and initiative of all servicemen toward the successful realization of this task.

The party and government are allocating large material and monetary resources to us. And we are obliged to use them skillfully and intelligently so that not a single ruble is wasted, but serves the cause of strengthening the might of the Armed Forces in improving the everyday material conditions of Soviet soldiers.

The unremitting attention of the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally for strengthening the defense might of our homeland and satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the Army and Navy is inspiring Soviet soldiers to highly effective military labor.

Permit me to express my confidence in the fact that the personnel of the Armed Forces in reply to this fatherly concern, will make every effort to continue to piously carry out its duty to the party and people to reliably defend our socialist fatherland and be in constant combat readiness so as to guarantee an immediate rebuff to any aggressor.

Taking this opportunity, I congratulate you and the entire personnel of the Army and Navy with the coming new year of 1978. I wish you happiness, good health, and great success in your work.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to by the participants of the conference with great attention and was frequently interrupted by prolonged applause.)

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A TREASURE-HOUSE OF EXPERIENCE, A SOURCE OF CREATIVITY

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[From a Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a scientific conference of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Administration for the Soviet Army and Navy on the books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "Little Land" and "Regeneration." 5 May 1978, pp 431-439]

[Text] Comrades! We have gathered together today at a scientific conference devoted to the books of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev "Little Land" and "Regeneration."

Permit me to convey to you, the participants of this conference, the sincere greetings and wishes for your good health from the author of these remarkable books--Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. He also asked me to convey his ardent congratulations on Victory Day.

Thirty-three years have passed since the world historical victory of our people and its Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War. During this time the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, has healed the wounds which were inflicted upon us by the war, has achieved outstanding successes in all fields of activity, has built a developed socialist society and now, inspired by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, is working with all of its strength and energy to accomplish the magnificent tasks of the construction of communism.

The publication of the books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Little Land" and "Regeneration" was an important event of our day in the political, spiritual, and cultural life of our country. They elicited enormous interest in our country and received a large response abroad.

These books are small in the number of their pages, but they are astonishingly rich in the depth of their penetration into the essence of the most complicated social and political phenomena, in the clarity of their analysis of the events of the last war and of the postwar period of the

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reconstruction of the economy, and in the fullness and importance of their conclusions. They are an alloy of the artistic imagery of the folk and a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the laws of social development and scientifically substantiated recommendations and combine simplicity and accessibility in their language and warm lyrical digressions by the author with major generalizations and conclusions.

"Little Land" and "Regeneration" are devoted to different stages of the heroic struggle and self-sacrificing labor of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, but they are organically combined and supplement one another. These are books about military feats and about labor feats and about an unshakable devotion to the cause of the party of Lenin and to the bright ideals of communism. They are books about the unbending staunchness, courage, and unparalleled heroism of the Soviet people which were demonstrated in the fierce battles against the fascist invaders and in the restoration of the country's economy which had been destroyed by the enemy. They are books about the greatness of Soviet man who has been educated by the party—unbending in times of trouble, tireless in labor, fixed upon victory, and an ardent patriot and internationalist.

On the eve of the 33rd anniversary of the Great Victory we are again and again returning in thought to the events of past—years and every time we try to evaluate the greatness of the feat of the Soviet people even more deeply, to interpret the lessons of history, and to draw conclusions for the future. The books by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev teach us to believe in the inexhaustible creative strength of the people and its ability to successfully solve the tremendous tasks of the construction and of the defense of socialism and communism. They convincingly confirm the fact that our victories at the front and in the rear are inseparable from the many-sided and purposeful work of the Communist Party. This thought runs like a red thread through both tales.

The Great Patriotic War left an ineffaceable mark upon the life of our people and hardened it in fierce battles against the fascist invaders.

An heroic struggle for victory was waged tirelessly on the front and in the rear. This victory was formed from the results of many offensive and defensive battles and operations and from the self-sacrificing efforts of the workers of the rear who struggled for bread and metal, weapons and fuel, and to provide for all of the needs of the front and of the life of the people.

Comrades!

In "Little Land" the author was able with one of the vivid episodes of the past war--the Battle for Novorossiysk--to show the characteristic and common element of the Soviet people which helped it to overcome the greatest trials and achieve victory. He has described the heroic feat of Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War richly and penetratingly.

It is not easy to accomplish an heroic feat. But, nor is it easy to write about it in such a way that it is a great truth about the combat and labor heroism of the people, and about the unparalleled battle which spread out over an enormous front--from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the shores of the Volga and the foothills of the Caucuses to Berlin and Prague. The Little Land about which Leonid Il'ich writes so movingly was small in size, but the feat which was accomplished on it was truly enormous. In it was reflected the greatness of spirit of the entire Soviet people which bore the basic brunt of the past war and saved world civilization from the fascist barbarians.

With their heroic feat the defenders of the Little Land wrote a golden page in the heroic epic of the Great Patriotic War. The remarkable features of the Soviet patriot which are characteristic of every one of our soldiers are shown in L. I. Brezhnev's tale about the battles to take and hold this very important jumping-off ground. At all of the sectors of the Soviet-German front, including the bloody battles at Little Land, the best qualities of Soviet soldiers which had been cultivated by the party honorably withstood unprecedented trials and became even more tempered: boundless devotion to the Soviet people and to the great ideals of communism, fidelity to their military duty, an unshakable staunchness and an unbending will to victory, courage, bravery, and high military expertise. These qualities are a graphic testimony to the inexhaustible spiritual strength of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Soviet soldiers are called heroes of the apirit in the book "Little Land." And they, like all Soviet people really were heroes. The present generations of Soviet people, the servicemen of our Army and Navy, should learn from them, the heroic builders and defenders of socialism, boundless devotion to the Communist Party and our socialist homeland, valor, and fearlessness.

The self-sacrificing actions of the Soviet people and of its soldiers during the war years are depicted vividly and palpably in this book. We find much that is instructive on its pages. Everything that has been lived, felt, and thought by the author is generously shared by him with the reader.

The book "Little Land" can with complete justification be called a treasure-house of combat experience. The landing in Little Land, its defense, the battles for Novorossiysk, like many other operations of the Great Patriotic War, are models of Soviet military art. We still have a great deal to interpret in the combat experience of the past war and to evaluate it from the height of today, to take everything useful from it, to fill it with a new content based on the continuous development of weapons, combat equipment, and military art and to apply it creatively in the practice of the training and education of the forces.

Using the battles for Novorossiysk and Little Land as an example, L. I. Brezhnev provides a profound revelation of the leading and guiding role of the party and of its enormous inspirational power in the struggle of

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the Soviet people against the fascist invaders. The war again and again confirmed that the party and people are united and that there is no force which is capable of disrupting their monolithic solidarity.

As the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, the Communist Party today also is confidently leading our people from victory to victory. This is engendering an optimism in Soviet people, an unshakable faith in the successful construction of a communist society, and a pride in their socialist homeland and is resulting in the active life position of every Soviet person. The further we move ahead, the greater the directing role of the party in communist construction and in strengthening the defense capacity of the country. This is a law of the development of our society. And in it we see a guarantee of all of our future successes.

Revealing the role of the party in achieving victory and remembering the communists of the war years, L. I. Brezhnev gives, as it were, a social order to the present generation of communists to measure themselves against those who during the most difficult times were true to their duty and high title of member of our Leninist party.

The personal example of a communist is a great force. A communist's word may not diverge from his deeds. It is a sacred duty of communists to lead the masses, to call them forward, and themselves to be in the forefront. The communists of our Armed Forces have to unswervingly meet this demand. They have to show great activeness, perform their service and party duties irreproachably, and be in the vanguard of the struggle of a further strengthening of the combat capacity and combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

Especial demands are made upon those communists who have been entrusted with the post of political worker. A communist who has been appointed to this post must possess the profoundest ideological convictions, a high level of partiynost', principles, and intolerance toward any shortcomings and any deviations from Leninist norms of party life, and he must be honest and exemplary in everything. At the same time, he has to be responsive and sensitive to people, indissoluable connected to them, and put all of his abilities, all of his skills and the entire passion of his heart into his work with people.

L. I. Brezhnev's points and conclusions about the enormous role of party-political work in tattle have an undying significance. His words about the fact that the staunchness of the soldiers of Little Land was an outcome of this work once again reminds us of the wisdom of Lenin's statement that where political work in the troops is performed with the greatest care there is no slackness in the Army, its organization and spirit are better and there are more victories there.

The victory in the Great Patriotic War, using the words of the author of "Little Land," showed the greatness of our socialist homeland and the immeasurable superiority of the moral strength of Soviet soldiers over the

moral strength of the fascist invaders. Under present conditions the morale factor becomes even more important. For this reason, it is essential to continue with the entire system of our ideological work to persistently educate Soviet people, and above all the youth, in a spirit of passionate patriotism, selfless devotion to the party and people, and a readiness to courageously defend their fatherland.

Today, on the eve of Victory Day, L. I. Brezhnev's words have an especially penetrating sound: "When today, a third of a century later, you remember what befell our soldiers, commanders, and political workers it is sometimes even not believable that all of this occurred, that it was possible to endure this. However, we endured. We endured everything, went through everything, and won, defeated the fascists."*

From the first to the last days of the war Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was in the front line of the struggle against fascism, in the very oven of the battles. He participated in the battles as one of the many soldiers of the party who had been sent by it to responsible posts in the active Army. A political leader of large dimensions, as deputy chief of the political administration of the Southern Front, chief of the political division of the 18th Army, and chief of the political administration of the 4th Ukrainian Front he made a great contribution to the development and realization of the plans for many operations and conducted enormous organizational and political work in the forces.

L. I. Brezhnev took an active part in a number of major operations in the Caucuses, in the Black Sea area, in the Crimea and the Ukraine, and in the liberation of Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia from the fascist invaders. One of the most vivid pages in his military biography is his participation in the battle at Novorossiysk and, especially, at Little Land.

Leonid Il'ich was always in the thick of the masses and of the events of the front—at an Army command point and in a firing position, in the first trench, and on a combat vessel. He had a profound knowledge of the life of the soldiers and their thoughts and feelings were close to him. His broad political horizon, his ability to see the large and the small, and his experience as a major party, state, and military leader have made it possible for Leonid Il'ich to create such a remarkable book as "Little Land."

Comrades! L. I. Brezhnev!s second book--"Regeneration"--is also profoundly rich and interesting. There is already a deep meaning in its very name.

After the victory in the Great Patriotic War the party and the entire Soviet people was faced with a new and extremely difficult and complicated

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^{*}L. I. Brezhnev, "Little Land," p 17.

problem--to restore our devastated economy as rapidly as possible and shift the economy onto the basis of peaceful construction. L. I. Brezhnev describes with great convincingness in the book "Regeneration" how this problem was solved. He shows in all of their fullness the self-sacrificing heroic labor and inexhaustible creative power of the Soviet people and the leading role of the party in accomplishing the tasks of restoration.

Under the most difficult conditions of postwar devastation, by will of the party and Soviet people and through their titanic labor many plants and factories, mines and fields, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes were in fact born anew and cities and villages rose out of the ruins.

At that time, Leonid Il'ich was in the responsible post of first secretary of the Zaporozhskaya and then the Dneproptrovskaya Oblast committees of the party. As is known, before the war the oblasts were among the country's largest industrial centers. They were assigned an important role during the postwar years also. The restoration, or, rather, the regeneration of the industrial potential of the Dnepr area to a large extent determined the rates of the restoration and further development of the economy not only of the Ukraine, but also of other areas of the country.

In leading the party organizations of the Zaporozh'ye and the Dnepropetrovshchina, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was again on the front line--now of the labor front.

In the book "Regeneration," as in the book "Little Land," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev again vividly and colorfully and with great warmth speaks about people of labor, about how plants and mines, quarries and electric power stations were resurrected by them under the leadership of the party, how kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields came to life, and how new cities and villages grew up on ruins.

This was a new heroic feat of the people, a heroic feat of labor and construction. "There was no science of the restoration of what had been destroyed," Leonid Il'ich comments wittily, "and there were no textbooks which taught how to raise structures which had been burned down, smashed, and blown up out of the ashes. Everything for the first time, everything from scratch."**And in his book "Regeneration" Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev reveals how this science was learned. With many examples he shows the present and future generations of communists and all Soviet people how it is necessary to work in peaceful fields for the sake of the victory of communism.

L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes the very close connection between the country's yesterday and its today, with the posing and accomplishment of new tasks, and with the prospects for the further development of our state and for the

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^{**}L. I. Brezhnev, "Regeneration," Moscow, 1978, p 27.

construction of the Armed Forces. In keeping with Lenin's thesis on the necessity of concentrating one's basic efforts on the chief direction, he notes that in the accomplishment of the tasks which stand before us the decisive importance continues to be in singling out those links with which the entire chain can be pulled. Among these links, Leonid Il'ich names: party political work, the selection, placement, and education of leading cadres, a Leninist work style, and a constant connection with the people.

Both books of memoirs by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are a chronicle of the unprecedented courage and staunchness of the Soviet people and a truthful and moving document about the heroic time of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar resurrection of our war-torn economy. It is for this reason that they received national recognition so rapidly. They are being read by white-haired veterans of the war and workers of the rear, by people of the older generations and by the youth.

Comrades! The past war demanded not only heroism and self-sacrifice from soldiers, but also daily strenuous labor and an expert mastery of weapons. The future war, if the aggressors unleash it, will demand enormous and even harder labor. And the ability to work during war is mastered, as is known, during peacetime. It is the duty of our commanders and political workers and of all of those who are responsible for the training of our Army and Navy and for their combat readiness to always remember this and to inculcate the personnel with a love for military labor.

In speaking about labor during war and about the importance of preparing for it during peacetime I would like to observe that Leonid II'ich himself was not only a talented organizer and an experienced political leader, but also a valorous soldier, a model of self-sacrifice and diligence, and that he performed his party and military duty with communist passion and with all of his strength and seething energy.

This, comrades, is what he has remained today—a tireless party and state leader of the Lenin type and a true communist. The exceptionally strenuous and diverse work of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Chairman of the USSR Council for Defense is a model of a Leninist style of work and of an ability to organically combine theory and practice and to unfailingly achieve goals.

Our people knows Leonid II'ich Brezhnev well and loves and respects him for his close ties with the workers and his ability to listen to their voices. In accompanying Leonid II'ich Brezhnev on his trips, including to Siberia and the Far East, I have been a witness to his numerous warm and sincere meetings and talks with the workers and with the soldiers of our Armed Forces.

During this trip L. I. Brezhnev visited with our missile soldiers and was present at a tactical exercise of the forces of the Far East Military District

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and at a bilateral exercise of the forces of the Pacific Fleet. He acquainted himself attentively with the state of the combat readiness of the units and ships and made a number of important statements and called upon our soldiers to further improve their combat and political training and to carry the standard of the Soviet Armed Forces with honor.

Speaking at the 18th Congress of the Komsomol, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev gave high praise to the military labor of Soviet soldiers. "During my trip to the east," he said,"I became acquainted with how the protection of our borders is organized and with those who are performing a difficult service there--with the glorious soldiers of our Army and Navy and with our border troops. I will say one thing, comrades: the borders of our homeland are reliably protected against any surprises and their defense is in experienced and loyal hands."***

This evaluation gladdens Soviet soldiers, but it also obliges us to a great deal. We have to do everything so that the frontiers of our Soviet homeland are never violated.

The party considers a struggle for peace and for the prevention of a new world war one of its chief tasks and the central direction of its foreign policy. Among the political and state leaders of the present day there is no more consistent fighter for peace than Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. His inexhaustible energy, activeness, his sense of principle in resolving international problems, and his enormous personal contribution to this have been recognized with the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Peoples."

Appeals for peace, for an end to the arms race, and for a strengthening of detente were expressed with new force by Leonid Il'ich from the rostrum of the 18th Congress of the Komsomol.

The more reliably peace is defended, the stronger it will be. This is why while waging an active struggle for a relaxation of tensions and for peace, the Communist Party and L. I. Brezhnev are constantly emphasizing that this struggle has to be accompanied by an increase in our defense capacity and a comprehensive strengthening of the Soviet Armed Forces as one of the factors in strengthening peace.

Speaking during his trip through Siberia and the Far East to the sailors of the Pacific Fleet, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said that the Soviet Union will continue its efforts to achieve steady progress in detente and in a movement toward real disarmament. "We are threatening no one," Leonid Il'ich emphasized. "Talk about a so-called 'Soviet threat' is a patent invention by the enemies of detente, and nothing more. We are

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^{***} L. I. Brezhnev, "Important Problems of the Ideological Work of the CPSU," Vol 2, Moscow, 1978, p 571.

improving our defense with a single goal: to reliably defend the gains of Great October and to provide strong protection for the peaceful labor of Soviet people and of our friends and allies."**** For the personnel of our Army and Navy this sounds like a combat order from the party to continue to perfect its training and strengthen its combat collaboration with the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Comrades! Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's books are not only a story of the past. They have a direct connection with the present and they help us to look confidently into the future. Both "Little Land" and "Regeneration" carry a charge of enormous ideological power, are permeated with optimism, open up prospects for an improvement of all of our ideological and defense work, and teach us to live and work in a Leninist manner, to selflessly love our homeland, and to be faithful to our people, party, and the ideals of communism. The personnel of our Armed Forces must master the very rich content of these books which are fated for a glorious and long life. Active and wide use has to be made for them in party, political and educational work in the subunits, units, and ships.

In this regard, we look upon the present conference as one of the measures to study and propagandize L. I. Brezhnev's books and one of the forms of mastering their ideological wealth.

Our discussion of the books today makes it possible not only to interpret their enormous theoretical and practical significance more deeply, but also to work out concrete recommendations on the problems of military art, the construction of the Armed Forces, and the education of Soviet soldiers.

Comrades! Winter training is now ending in the Army and Navy. The vast majority of the units and ships have successfully fulfilled their combat and political training plans. Our Soviet soldiers have done good work. But this does not mean that we do not have any shortcomings and that everything is going well. Our task is to eliminate all of the defects which have remained during the winter period during summer training and to increase combat mastery with even more persistence so as to complete the training year with new achievements. We will be given great help in this by the theses and conclusions contained in L. I. Brezhnev's books which we are obliged to make full use of in our work practice.

Permit me, dear comrades, on behalf of the participants in the conference to express profound gratitude to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for his tireless titanic work and for his remarkable books which will educate many generations of Soviet people.

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention

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^{****&}quot;The Trip by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in Siberia and the Far East. March-April 1978, " Moscow, 1978, p 43.

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and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

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TRUE FRIENDS, RELIABLE ALLIES

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a meeting with soldiers of a unit of the Hungarian People's Army. 16 May 1978, pp 448-452]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Our combat friends!

Permit me on behalf of the Soviet military delegation to express our profound gratitude of the Central Committee of the Hungarian: Socialist Workers' Party and to the Minister of Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic Colonel General Layosh Tsinege for the opportunity which has been given us to visit your unit, meet with its personnel, and acquaint ourselves with its life and combat training.

Allow me to perform an honorable and pleasant commission—to convey to you, dear friends, and in your person to all of the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army ardent greetings and the best wishes from a great friend of the Hungarian people, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

I also convey to you combat greetings and wishes for success in your military labor from the soldiers of the Soviet Army and Navy!

We were deeply moved by the warm reception and the cordiality and attention shown to us by the soldiers of your unit. We see this expression of your fraternal and friendly feelings as being for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and the soldiers of our Armed Forces. We are sincerely grateful to you for this warm and sincere reception!

Our peoples and armies are united by a strong and indestructible friendship. Soviet people place a high value upon this friendship and cherish

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it. Its vitality and power is in the common nature of our communist ideals and convictions, in the unity of the fundamental interests and goals of the workers of the Soviet Union and of people's Hungary, and socialist internationalism.

Our fraternal alliance personifies a new and socialist type of interstate relations. The border between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic is rightly called a border of friendship and fraternal cooperation. All kinds of cargoes and goods cross it in an endless stream. The "Druzhba" petroleum pipeline and the "Mir" electric transmission line are operating for the good of our peoples. Through our joint efforts we are building the "Iaksh" atomic electric power station, the powerful Vinnitsa-Al'bertirsha electric transmission line, the Ust'-Ilinsk cellulose and paper combine, and many other economic facilities. Soviet-Hungarian cooperation is continually expanding in the fields of science and technology and culture.

Our friendship has become a close and vital matter for the broad popular masses. "The internationalist unity and fraternal cooperation of our countries—the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union," Comrade Yanosh Kadar has said, "are an invaluable and mighty source of power for our party and our people."* These words, as we were again convinced during our present visit, are in deep accord with the thoughts, feelings, and deeds of the workers of people's Hungary and of its soldiers. And our meeting with you and the warm words which have been said during it are a graphic confirmation of the sincerity, purity, and loyalty of this friendship.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was very right in what he said about Soviet-Hungarian friendship at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. "Soviet-Hungarian friendship," he said, "has become the possession of millions upon millions of Soviet and Hungarian workers. Fraternal relations with Hungary, our neighbor and ally, is for Soviet communists a matter of principle, conviction, and feeling....Our party and our entire people will spare no efforts to see to it that our friendship continually grows stronger and deeper."**

As genuine friends, we, Soviet people, are gladdened with all of our hearts by your successes in the development of your economy, science, and culture and in realizing the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. We are gladdened by your progress in the construction of developed socialism and wish you great new successes in this work!

This kind of sincere and mutual interest in the successes of fraternal peoples is a characteristic feature of the relationships of our friendly

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^{*} PRAVDA, 26 September 1974.

^{**} L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles, "Vol 5, p 264.

socialist states which are always ready to come to one another's aid.

The constant economic growth of people's Hungary, the political unity of its society which grows stronger from day to day, and its atmosphere of confidence in tomorrow—all of this is closely connected with the great organizational and political work of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee led by the glorious son of the Hungarian people and prominent leader of the international communist movement Comrade Yanosh Kadar!

Just as the Hungarian people is doing, Soviet people are working with inspiration and self-sacrifice. The entire life of our country is now taking place under the beneficial influence of the ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress and under the token of a persistent struggle for the fulfillment of the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Under the leadership of the party of Lenin, the Soviet people is confidently moving to new heights in the construction of communism.

Comrades!

The time in which we live is placing an enormous historical responsibility upon the socialist countries for the fate of peace and social progress. Aware of this responsibility, the Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic, and all of the countries of the socialist commonwealth are persistently struggling to strengthen peace and the security of peoples. Thanks above all to this constant struggle, a warming up of the international climate has become a reality of our day. The ideas of detente and peaceful coexistence have entered firmly into the consciousness of the masses.

But there are still other forces in the world. They are attempting to hinder the development of positive processes, are whipping up the arms race, and are spreading a malicious lie about the alleged threat of a military superiority by the Warsaw Pact over the NATO bloc and about the alleged aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union. These inventions are nothing other than an endeavor to cover over the aggressive actions of international reaction.

Our state has the kind of Armed Forces which is capable of accomplishing its tasks and is constantly improving them and maintaining them on a high level of combat readiness.

The books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Little Land" and "Regeneration" which were recently published in the Soviet Union teach how to love and defend our homeland and how to strengthen its economic and defensive might.

In his book "Little Land" Leonid Il'ich revealed the lofty patriotism of the Soviet people, its devotion to the ideals of communism, and its selfless love for its homeland, and its self-sacrificing heroic struggle

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for its freedom and independence during the past war. The pathos of the constructive labor of the Soviet people to restore its war-torn economy and build socialism and communism in our country is shown in the book by L. I. Brezhnev "Regeneration."

Both books by L. I. Brezhnev have received national recognition in our country and its Armed Forces. They are being studied, and both our white-haired veterans and our youth are learning from them.

We have frequently had occasion to hear the statement that the Soviet Union is maintaining oversized Armed Forces. This does not correspond to reality. The framework of Soviet military construction has always been determined and is now being determined by the limits of necessary defense. Strengthening our Armed Forces, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed, "we are in no way exceeding the real needs of our security and the security of our socialist friends. We threaten no one, and we are imposing our will upon no one.

If the detente continues and if other states are ready for disarmament, we will not hold things up."*** Such is our honest and open position. We stand firmly with it and will stand firmly with it! Fidelity to this position received a new confirmation in the speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev during his trip through Siberia and the Far East and his speech at the 18th Congress of the Komsomol.

The visit by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the FRG was a major event of international dimensions and another large contribution to realizing the foreign policy course of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Leninist peace-loving policy of our party and state. It marks a stage in the development of the political detente and in the creation of the preconditions for applying it to the military field. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit met the approval and appreciation of progressive and peace-loving forces in the entire world.

The Soviet Union is prepared for decisive steps toward disarmament. But it cannot but reckon with the fact that the threat of unleashing a new world war which comes from imperialism continues. This demands from our fraternal parties and from the peoples and states of the socialist commonwealth a high level of vigilance and constant concern for ensuring the armed defense of our revolutionary gains and of the construction of socialism and communism.

The Warsaw Pact has an important role in accomplishing this responsible task. The Soviet Armed Forces and the Hungarian People's Army are solid elements in its military organization. Our combat cooperation is constantly growing stronger and developing. We disinterestedly share with one

***PRAVDA, 21 February 1978.

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another everything which we have in the field of military affairs--weapons, experience in the training and education of the forces, and the results of our military scientific research and we provide one another with assistance in mastering military equipment and weapons. We share all this as true friends and comrades-in-arms!

Good relations are developed between Hungarian soldiers and the soldiers of the Soviet Southern Group of Forces.

The successes of the Hungarian People's Army, our true friend and reliable ally, are greatly valued by Soviet soldiers. We are sincerely gladdened by them and assure you that the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces will do everything to strengthen our unity, friendship, and close combat collaboration.

Our armies are marching shoulder to shoulder in the monolithic combat ranks of the Armed Forces of our brother-peoples. Their unity and internationalist solidarity is indestructible. The soldiers of the armies of the socialist countries are deeply aware of the fact that they are defending the most just state system and the peace and happiness of the workers. Their consciousness of this great purpose is inspiring them to the successful accomplishment of their tasks. They are always ready to give a decisive rebuff to any aggressor. We shall not spare our strength to further strengthen our indestructible combat alliance!

We wish all of the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army great successes in their military labor and in their selfless service to their remarkable homeland and their people!

Permit me once again to thank you for your hospitality and cordiality, for your warmth and sincerity.

Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the CC led by Comrade Yanosh Kadar!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, and its Politburo led by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

Long live the Hungarian People's Army--a faithful guard for socialist Hungary and a solid element of the combat commonwealth of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states!

May the friendship and cooperation of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples and their armies grow stronger and develop!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause.)

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AN HEROIC FEAT ON BELORUSSIAN LAND

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a reception in honor of the presentation of the Order of Lenin and the "Gold Star" Medal to the hero-city of Minsk. 25 June 1978, pp 453-454]

[Text] Dear Leonid Il'ich!

Dear Comrades!

Permit me on behalf of our glorious Armed Forces and for myself personally to ardently and sincerely congratulate the respected residents of Minsk, war veterans, and the entire Belorussian people on the presentation to the hero-city of Minsk of a high award--the Order of Lenin and "Gold Star" Medal

The history of the Belorussian land holds remarkable labor and combat feats. We are gladdened by the outstanding labor successes of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Belorussia and of the glorious residents of its capital. But we also know Belorussia as a republic whose people went through the most difficult trials during the Great Patriotic War.

Those stern days are memorable for us when the Belorussian people in fraternal unity with all of the other peoples of our homeland and under the leadership of the Communist Party waged a merciless struggle against the German fascist invaders, and when the Soviet Army together with the valorous Belorussian partisans struck blows against the hated enemy at Brest and Baranovichi, Minsk and Bobruysk, Gomel'and Mogilev, Orsha, and Borisov and Vitebsk, defending every inch of its native land. In unforgettable 1941 Soviet soldiers showed unprecedented courage and genuine heroism. We are again and again delighted by the heroic feats of the heros of the defense of the Belorussian capital, valorous tank soldiers, valorous infantry and artillery soldiers, and glorious flyers who waged a mortal battle against superior enemy forces.

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The German fascist Army succeeded temporarily in seizing Belorussian land. But it was not able to subjugate the heroic Belorussian people. The entire population of the republic rose for the struggle against the invaders. On Belorussian land the hated enemy felt himself to be besieged from all sides. Everywhere the land was allame under his feet, and everywhere the punishing hand of the people overtook him.

Here, at Minsk, in July 1944 an enormous ring of encirclement into which an enemy grouping had gotten and in which it had been defeated was closed.

Our homeland has placed a high value upon the magnificent feat of the Belorussian people and has awarded the republic's capital the Order of Lenin and the "Gold Star" Medal. This award expresses the profound gratitude of the party, the government, and the entire Soviet people to the heroic soldiers, the direct participants in the battles for Minsk, courageous Belorussian patriots—partisans and underground workers and all of the workers of the city who showed enormous endurance and staunchness and gave all of their strength for our great Victory.

Like all Soviet people, the personnel of the Armed Forces welcomed the award to Minsk of the honorable title of "Hero-City" with great joy and pride. It sees in this a manifestation of the fatherly concern of our party, its Central Committee, and personally of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Chairman of the USSR Defense Council Marshall of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for the heroic services of Belorussian people and the residents of the glorious capital of the republic--the city of Minsk.

The historic feat of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War a part of which was the heroic feat of Minsk is perceived by the present generation of Soviet soldiers as an example of the courage, staunchness, and selfless love of our people for its motherland and as a model of the performance of military duty. This feat is inspiring the personnel of the Army and Navy to perform irreproachable service for its great fatherland.

Respected comrades!

Permit me to proclaim a toast:

For our glorious Soviet people, a victor-people!

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee led by the true Leninist and fiery fighter for peace L. I. Brezhnev!

Glory to our valorous Armed Forces!

Glory to the Hero-City of Minsk!

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FOLLOWING A POLICY OF GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a dinner given by the Minister of Defense of Finland T. Tyakhkyamaa in Helsinki. 10 June 1978 pp 460-462]

[Text] Respected Minister of Defense Mr. Tyakhkyamaa!

Respected Mr. Commander in Chief of the Defense Forces General Sutela!

Respected gentlemen!

Comrades!

Permit me first of all to thank you, Mr. Minister, for the invitation to visit your country, for the warm reception which has been given to our delegation, and for the good words about the Soviet state, our people, and its Armed Forces.

Mutual visits by political, state, and military leaders have become an inseparable part of the good neighbor relations of our countries. They are promoting an expansion of cooperation between the USSR and Finland and are strengthening their mutual understanding and trust.

The development of Soviet-Finnish cooperation has entered firmly into the political chronicle of the world as a vivid example of the realization of the principles of new inter-state relations which were developed by the great Lenin--the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. These lofty principles are embodied in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid which has been concluded between our countries and are developing on its basis.

In following the course of this treaty, the Soviet Union and Finland frequently go into the development of the principles of peaceful coexistence and into the organization of inter-state relations substantially ahead of time,

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thanks to which our diverse mutually advantageous cooperation is service as a good example for other countries. While it is in accord with the fundamental interest of our peoples, the tested course of good neighborliness and cooperation is helping to improve the political climate in Europe, and not only in Europe. It is noteworthy that it is precisely here, in the capital of Finland-Helsinki--that the All-European conference took place and that the concluding act of this conference was signed here which to a large extent absorbed the time-tested experience of the good neighbor relations between the USSR and Finland.

A genuine friendship which is imbued with trust and sincerity—this is the most reliable guarantee of the fact that Soviet-Finnish relations will continue to grow stronger and develop. We believe that a beneficial soil exists for this.

Outstanding political and state leaders of our countries—the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the respected President of the Finnish Republic Mr. Urho Kekkonen—have been making an enormous personal contribution to strengthening the friendship and cooperation of the USSR and Finland.

Taking the opportunity of this occasion, I want to convey from Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev his sincere greetings to the Finnish people and his wishes for their further success in strengthening Soviet-Finnish relations.

A very responsible stage has now begun in the development of events on the world arena. A materialization of detente and its transference into the military field is becoming the most urgent demand of the day.

We believe that our countries can actively help with the solution of this urgent problem. It is known that the Soviet Union not only itself is advancing very important proposals on restraining the arms race and preventing war and is not only persistently seeking their implementation, but also welcomes any constructive steps by other states in this direction.

Our country, as L. I. Brezhnev has more than once emphasized, has been and always will be a reliable partner in ensuring a durable peace, in disarmment, and in the struggle for the development and deepening of the process of detente. Thus, the USSR has repeatedly stated its support for the peace-loving initiatives of Finland which are aimed at declaring Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone.

A war, if we do not succeed in preventing one, will bring mankind incalculable calamities. This is why there is no more important and noble purpose than to ensure a clean and peaceful sky over our planet.

The good neighborly cooperation between the USSR and Finland, including its ties and contacts along the military line, is serving to strengthen

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peace and security. During the postwar years it has been greatly expanded and enriched with new forms. We are satisfied with this. But life, as is known, does not stand still. It always brings up new problems which demand a solution. This is all the more reason for meeting and exchanging opinions on urgent problems in the interest of a further expansion of our friendly relations and cooperation and a deepening of our trust in the military sphere. It is this that we see as one of the important purposes of our visit.

Permit me to propose a toast:

To a further deepening of Soviet-Finnish cooperation for the sake of the peace and security of peoples!

To strong friendship among our peoples!

To your health, Mr. Minister!

To your health, Mr. Commander in Chief of the Defense Forces of Finland!

To the health of all those present!

(Comrade D. F. Ustinov's speech was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by applause.)

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ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST

D.F. USTINOV, IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT'I (Selected Speeches and Articles), Moscow, Politizdat, In Russian, 1979

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov at a dinner in the USSR Embassy in Finland in honor of the President of the Finnish Republic U. K. Kekkonen. 13 July 1978, pp 463-466]

[Text] Respected Mr. President!

Respected gentlemen!

Comrades!

We are glad to welcome you, respected Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, and the leaders of the Ministry of Defense and the Defense Forces of Freedom in the Soviet Embassy.

The stay by our Soviet military delegation on the land of friendly Finland is coming to an end. I would like for this reason take the opportunity of today's meeting to once again thank you, Mr. Minister, the government, and also the command of the Defense Forces of Finland and the entire Finnish people for the attention and hospitality that has been shown to us.

No matter where our delegation has been--in military units or at enterprises--everywhere we have felt feelings of liking and friendship.

"The strength of a bird is in its wings, the strength of people is in friend-ship." This is a folk saying in our country. I think that there is every reason for saying that the friendship of the Soviet and Finnish peoples is increasing their strength and is serving their welfare and the interests of peace and security in the north of Europe and on the entire continent.

In the history of every people there are events which are imprinted in the memory of the generations like vivid landmarks. One of these events which is equally precious to the Soviet people and to Finns is the recognition of the state independence of Finland which was proclaimed by a

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decree by Lenin soon after the victory of Great October. The ideas of this decree have been embodied in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the USSR and Finland. The experience of more than three decades has completely confirmed its effectiveness and has shown what enormous possibilities are contained in it. "With such a treaty in their possession," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "the peoples of our countries are serene about the future of Soviet-Finnish relations. This future is clear, it is reliably secured."*

Imbued with the ideas with respect for sovereignty and the ideas of equality, trust, and mutual advantage, the Soviet-Finnish Treaty, as the President of Finland Urho Kekkonen has observed, is "a common valuable possession of both peoples. Its mutually beneficial and constant use accords with the interests of both sides."**

These appreciations by the state leaders of the USSR and Finland vividly express the indestructibility of Soviet-Finnish friendship. We cherish the special character of our relations and, for our part, will do everything so that they become closer and more fruitful. The Finnish people is also striving for this, a fact about which we had an opportunity to again convince ourselves during our present visit.

This is why the attempts of some of our ill-wishers in the West to cast doubt upon the Soviet-Finnish Treaty and to distort its essence are futile. It is serving and will serve our peoples!

Our good neighbor relations in the military field are also being organized and are developing on the basis of the treaty. For this reason we regard it as entirely natural that the talks with the military leaders of Finland have been marked by broad mutual understanding. For mutual understanding rests above all on trust. And trust is the norm of Soviet-Finnish relations.

We believe that quite a bit has been accomplished during the days of the visit. New opportunities are opening up in the military-technical field, in the sphere of an exchange of an experience and of the training of officer cadres, and in many other fields. We not only examine the state of affairs as of today, but outline the prospects for our cooperation in the future. Thus, it can be said that another step has been taken in the development of friendly Soviet-Finnish relations along the military line and, this means, in a further strengthening in the friendship of our peoples.

Respected friends!

^{*} L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol 6, p 365.

^{**}PRAVDA, 18 July 1970.

Soviet people are living and working under the inspiring influence of the ideas and decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Making wide use of the enormous possibilities of developed socialism, day after day they are achieving new successes in communist construction.

The international policies of the Soviet Union are directed toward ensuring favorable foreign conditions for the construction of communism. These are policies of peace and of friendship among peoples. They are finding ardent approval and support from all of progressive mankind. As you know, only recently our country made a number of new proposals in the field of disarm-ament and of the materialization of detente which were welcomed with satisfaction by world public opinion, including the Finnish people. I have in mind above all the Soviet proposals which were made at the special session of UN General Assembly on Disarmament. They were a logical continuation of the peace initiatives which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev set forth in his speeches at the 18th Congress of the Komsomol and during his visits to the FRG and Czechoslovakia.

It gives us great satisfaction that Finland, its government, and you personally Mr. President are showing a deep interest in a durable peace and are waging a constant struggle to establish it.

As sincere friends and good neighbors we are happy that Finland's voice has a weighty sound in international affairs. The peace-loving initiatives of your government find approval and support with the Soviet people. The Soviet Union has more than once stated its support for Finland's proposals on declaring Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone and ensuring a durable peace in this area. We welcome your steps toward a further strengthening of good neighbor relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The struggle of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states, and of all of the peace-loving forces for peace is yielding its fruits. There are more and more supporters of a relaxation of international tension and of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. However, along with the positive tendencies of world development, there are also negative ones which are being engendered by the actions of international reaction. It is its fault that the threat of a world nuclear war has not yet been removed from the life of society, that explosive danger spots are created in various regions of the world, and that the arms race is being intensified. The long-term program for a further increase in the armaments of the NATO aggressive bloc which was adopted by the May session of the NATO Council runs counter to the process of detente. The blade of the military preparations of the imperialist states is directed above all against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth.

This is compelling us to constantly be concerned about our defense. It is precisely concern for defending and securing ourselves and our friends against possible aggression that dictates everything that is being done by

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Soviet people in the military field. The USSR Armed Forces also served this noble end.

While strengthening the defense capacity of their country, Soviet people remained faithful to the letter and spirit of the Concluding Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We are prepared for a decrease in the military confrontation on our continent and on the entire planet and for a limitation of armaments and for disarmament if only this gives no one one-sided advantages, is to the advantage of peace, and removes the threat of a new world war.

Comrades!

It is with a feeling of deep agitation that I accepted yesterday the honorary award of the Finnish Republic -- the Large Cross of the Order of the "White Rose of Finland."

Permit me, Mr. President, to express my heartfelt gratitude to you for the high honor which has been shown to me and for the warm words which have been said about me.

I regard this award above all as an expression of friendship and respect for the Soviet people and its Armed Forces and as a high appreciation of the contribution which the Soviet Union is making to the development and strengthening of mutual trust and good neighborly relations between our countries.

Respected Mr. President!

Gentlemen!

Tomorrow we are leaving the hospitable land of Finland. We are taking away with us rich impressions about your country, about its remarkable people and its achievements, and about the soldiers of the Defense Forces.

Permit me to wish the diligent Finnish people happiness and prosperity, and the soldiers of the Defense Forces of Finland new successes in achieving military expertise!

Permit me to raise my glass for a further development and strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Firland!

To the health of the President of the Finnish Republic!

To the health of the Prime Minister of Finland!

To the health of the Minister of Defense of Finland!

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To your health, Mr. Commander and Chief of the Defense Forces!

To the health of all present!

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END

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